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**Venetian ambassadors 1454-94:
an Italian elite**

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*Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in History*

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis 'Venetian ambassadors 1454-94: an Italian elite' is a result of my own independent research, under the supervision of Professor Michael Mallett, Department of History, University of Warwick. I also declare that this thesis has not already been accepted for any degree and is not being currently submitted for a degree at another university. Part of my doctoral research has been published in the article, 'Diplomacy and elites: Venetian ambassadors 1454-1494', *Diplomatic Studies Programme, Discussion Papers, no. 51* (University of Leicester 1999).

SUMMARY

This study is concerned with filling the gap that exists in our understanding of Venetian diplomacy. Historical works on Renaissance diplomacy have tended to be general, and the experience of Venice in the fifteenth century has been largely overlooked (partly because of the lack of extant diplomatic material). Yet this period is of key importance in the history of diplomacy; it was during the mid-fifteenth century that Italian states first used resident ambassadors, something which became accepted practice in sixteenth century Europe.

My approach has been to carry out a prosopographical analysis of every patrician who was appointed by Venice as an ambassador between 1454 and 1494. This has allowed investigation into their economic standing, family connections, intellectual interests, and political importance. Such a socio-political approach not only tells us much about diplomatic practices, but also casts light on the development of elite groups in Venice.

The first chapter of the study is introductory, explaining the chronological context of the study and outlining the debate over residency and the use of prosopography. Chapter two discusses elites, describes the personnel who manned Venetian missions, and explains the pattern of Venetian representation. Chapter three compares the theory and the reality of Venetian diplomatic practices. Chapters four and five focus more closely on the prosopography and consider the importance of family connections for ambassadors, their humanist interests, their political standing. The final chapter looks at the development of resident and permanent diplomacy in Venice.

I argue that Venetian ambassadors were drawn from the highest echelons of Venetian society and that their elevated status affected the nature of Venetian diplomacy. The type of men appointed by the Republic meant that Venice lagged behind many of its neighbours (especially the Princely states) in the use of resident ambassadors. This was primarily due to the nature of the Republic itself; Venice did not encourage long absences abroad or diplomatic specialisation. The Venetian experience shows that the speed at which Italian states responded to changes in diplomacy varied considerably and was closely related to their own cultural and political values.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

General

b.	busta/buste
cart.	cartella/cartelle
f.	folio/folios
F.	filza/filze
reg.	registro/registri
n.s.	new series

Institutions

ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASMa	Archivio di Stato di Mantova
ASMi	Archivio di Stato di Milano
ASMo	Archivio di Stato di Modena
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
Marciana	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia

Primary/secondary sources

Balla	ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Balla D'Oro
Barbaro	ASV, Miscellanea Codici, serie 1, Storia Veneta, reg. 17, M. Barbaro, A.M. Tascha, Arbori dei Patriti Veneti (fotocopia)
Collegio (commissioni)	ASV, Collegio Commissioni, in busta e registro
Collegio (let sec)	ASV, Collegio, Lettere Secrete in registro e filza
Cronaca Matrimonia	ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Cronaca Matrimonia

CX (lett miste)	ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Lettere Miste in filza e registro
CXMiste	ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni Miste
DBI	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> (Roma 1960-)
Enc It	<i>Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte</i> , 36 vols. (Roma 1929-39)
Franceschi	Marciana, It VII Cod. 1795 (7679) Miscellanea pp. 25-105, Andrea de Franceschi 'Itinerario di Germania degli ambasciatori veneti Giorgio Contarini and Paolo Pisani all'imperatore Federico III, 1492'
Gradenigo	ASV, Miscellanea Codici, serie 1, Storia Veneta, registro 74-Pietro Gradenigo, 'Memorie Istoric- Cronologiche ad ambasciatori della Serma Republica di Venezia spediti a vari principe'.
Sforzesco	ASMI, Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, Venezia, Roma, Napoli <i>(note that this is followed by date of letter as no reliable contemporary numbering exists. In the text of the thesis, the date is given in written form -for instance 1 Jan. 1484- while in appendix 1, dates are given as 1/1/1484 for reasons of space)</i>
SS	ASV, Senato Deliberazioni Secreta, in registro
Stampalia	Venezia, Biblioteca Querini-Stampalia, Classe IV Cod CCLIII bis, 'Ambascerie ordinarie e straordinarie espedita a diversi Potentari del mondo dalla Republica di Venetia... dalla sua fondatione sino il presente Anno MDCXXXVI, con li tempi delle Espeditioni cosi delli uni come delli altri et sostanza delle commissioni e delle straordinarie'

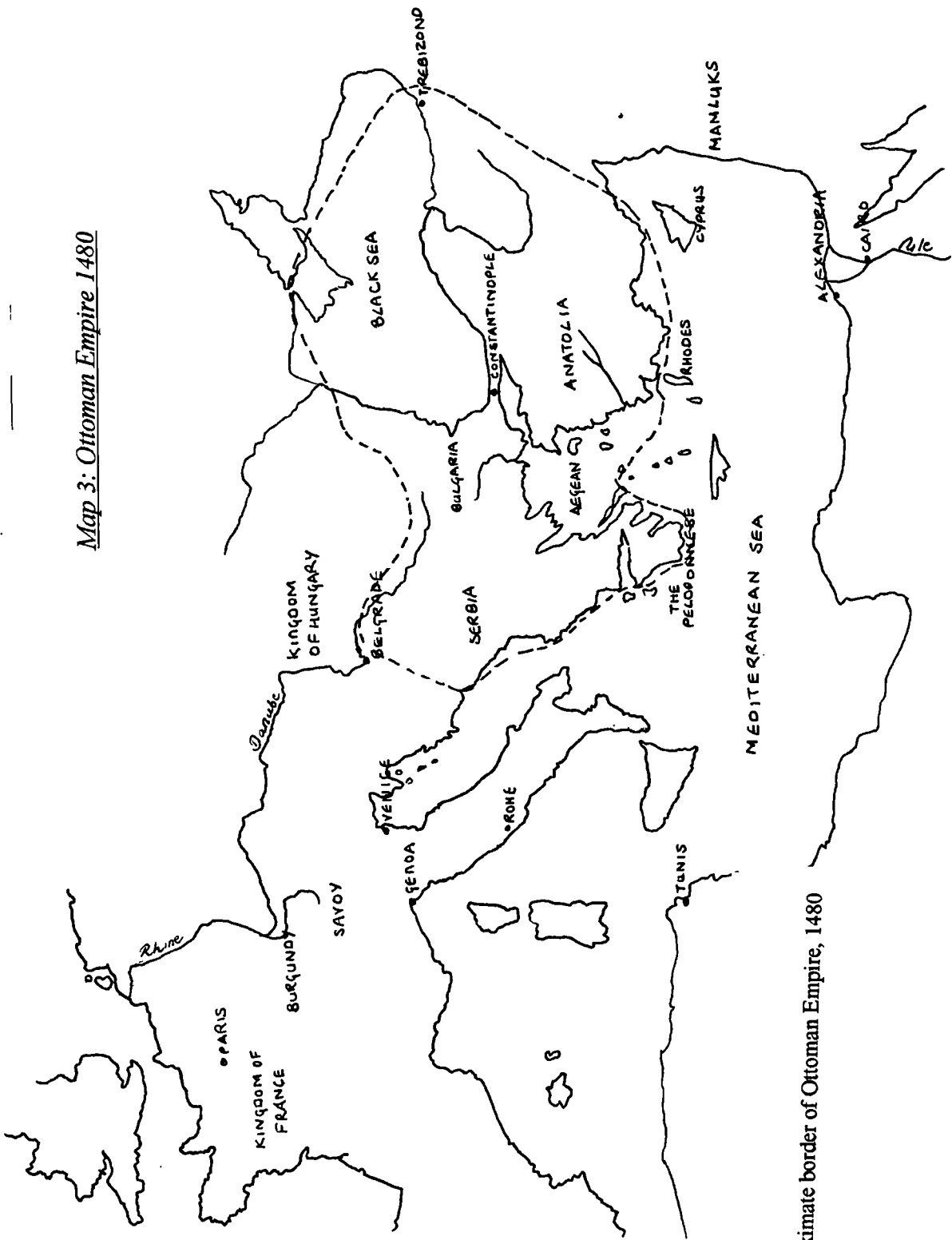


Map 1: France, Spain and England in the fifteenth century



- A: Marquisate of Saluzzo
- B: County of Asti
- C: Republic of Genoa
- D: Mantuan lands
- E: Este lands
- F: Republic of Florence
- G: Malaspina lands
- H: Republic of Venice
- I: Republic of Siena
- J: Republic of Lucca

Map 2: The Italian peninsula 1454



Map 3: Ottoman Empire 1480

-----: approximate border of Ottoman Empire, 1480

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Renaissance diplomacy is a subject that has attracted great attention from historians; the changes in this period seem to justify the argument that the Renaissance was the critical dividing period between medieval and modern diplomatic practices. The many studies concerned with this subject have tended to be wide-ranging, considering the Renaissance period as a whole, rarely specific to a particular country or state. While Venice has always remained a focus of interest for diplomatic historians, its own experience in the fifteenth century has been surprisingly neglected.

This lack of research means that (until now) we have not known the identity of the men who were appointed Venetian ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century; no contemporary listings of Venetian ambassadors survive for the *Quattrocento*.¹ Later attempts to compile lists of Venetian ambassadors in the Renaissance have proved inconclusive and often inaccurate. Furthermore, we also know surprisingly little about the functioning of Venetian diplomatic practice in this period. A common method of studying 'diplomatic' history, is to consult the dispatches and reports of ambassadors, which are so rich for Venice in the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, only a few dispatches remain for the second half of the fifteenth century as most were lost in fires in the Doges Palace in the sixteenth century. This lack of traditional diplomatic material has discouraged many from attempting to study the diplomatic history of this era. Yet the second half of the *Quattrocento* is a period of great significance for Venice and for the development of Italian diplomacy; it was in these years, we are told, when resident diplomacy became accepted practice.

¹ By ambassadors I mean officially appointed agents, fully accredited with diplomatic immunities.

My thesis aims to fill this gap in our understanding of Venetian diplomacy in this period. Because of the lack of traditional diplomatic sources for this period, a different approach and use of source material has been required. Therefore, in this thesis, I have compiled a complete list of the patricians who were appointed by Venice as ambassadors to other Italian states, Europe and the East between 1454 and 1494. Not only that, but I have constructed detailed profiles of their lives and careers. I have also looked at those men we might call '*cittadini*' ambassadors, men who had trained as secretaries, but who took up the mantle of the ambassador on the few occasions when circumstances demanded it.

The prosopography has formed the basis of my research; this study is principally a socio-political study of the men who manned Venetian missions in the second half of the fifteenth century, rather than a traditional diplomatic history. This prosopographical approach has many advantages. It illuminates the sorts of men Venice chose to employ as her ambassadors and the types of missions on which they were sent. Above all, it allows us to consider the characteristics of the previously faceless individuals who served the state as ambassadors.

Analysis of this prosopography has led to five main findings. First, my evidence shows that Venetian ambassadors in this period were drawn from the highest echelons of Venetian society; not only were they patricians, but they were drawn from elite circles in Venetian political society. Second, by investigating the missions on which these ambassadors served, I suggest that the elevated status of Venetian diplomats significantly affected the nature of Venetian diplomacy. The different elite groups employed as ambassadors by the Republic ensured that Venetian diplomacy differed significantly from the diplomacy of Princely states. Third, I argue that Venetian diplomatic practice is significant in understanding the myth of Venice; the stability of Venetian politics was less due to a 'mythological' patrician class and more about an inherent flexibility in the state's political system, a system which allowed top politicians to serve as ambassadors abroad

regularly (even if they were less than enthusiastic to do so). Fourth, Renaissance diplomacy has always been associated with the rise of resident diplomacy and has tended to be categorised into special or resident.² I show that not only is this division misleading in the forty years after the Peace of Lodi, but that other distinctions (such as the differences between republican and princely diplomacy) may be of more use in understanding the nature of Italian Renaissance diplomacy. Finally, I do not believe that Venetian diplomacy was unique or led the field towards specialisation in diplomacy in the second half of the fifteenth century. On the contrary, I suggest that it was precisely the political system in Venice and the identity of the men who were appointed as ambassadors which meant that Venice was somewhat less advanced than her neighbours in developing permanent diplomatic institutions. Crucially, the speed at which Italian states responded to changes in diplomacy varied considerably and was closely related to the cultural and political values of the individual society.

This chapter is in two parts. The first considers the context of the study. It begins by outlining the contents of the thesis and makes a general note of the source material that has been used. It goes on to look at diplomacy in the medieval and Renaissance periods, and notes the developments that were beginning to occur by the beginning of the fifteenth century. It engages with the historical debate over the development of resident diplomacy, a theme which will be taken up further in chapter six. The second part of the chapter introduces the method of prosopography as a means of historical research. It sets out problems and issues with such an approach and outlines the construction of my own prosopographical study of Venetian ambassadors.

² For a definition of these terms, see below.

PART A: DIPLOMACY AND VENICE

Outline of the study and note on source material

Geoffrey Berridge has stated that 'Diplomacy is the conduct of international relations by negotiation rather than by force, propaganda or recourse to law, and by other peaceful means (such as gathering information or engendering good will) which are either directly or indirectly designed to promote negotiation'.³ C.H. Carter has pointed out a further distinction. He suggests that we should not confuse 'diplomacy' in the sense of the behaviour of ambassadors and the conduct of diplomacy, the 'surface detail', with diplomacy in the sense of international relations. He argues that the ambassador was the tool of the state; he implemented diplomatic strategy which the state had devised. His behaviour was therefore just one element in the diplomacy of the state.⁴

My study will be concerned predominantly with Carter's first definition of diplomacy, that is the activity of ambassadors. The thesis considers diplomacy through the eyes of the personnel who manned Venetian embassies. At the heart of the study is a prosopographical study of all the men who served Venice as ambassadors between 1454 and 1494. These men include well-known figures such as the humanist Bernardo Bembo, the statesman Bernardo Giustiniani, and almost all the doges of late *Quattrocento* Venice—Giovanni Mocenigo, Marco Barbarigo, Pietro Mocenigo, Pasquale Malipiero, Cristoforo Moro, Nicolò Tron, Andrea Vendramin and Agostino Barbarigo. It includes individuals such as Giosafat Barbaro and Caterino Zen, both of whom travelled extensively in the east and especially Persia, and the successful lawyer Giovanni Antonio Minio. The group of ambassadors also comprises lesser political figures, Marino Bonzi, Maffeo Pesaro, Leonardo Sanuto. This prosopography (in the form of biographical profiles) can be found

³ R. Berridge, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (London 1995), p.1

⁴ C.H. Carter, *The Western European Powers 1500-1700* (London 1971), pp. 29-29

in the first appendix of the study; it provides information concerning the family of the ambassador, his education, the diplomatic and other offices to which he was appointed.

The study itself has two principal themes, upon which different chapters focus. The first theme considers how (if at all) Venetian ambassadors constituted an elite group in Italian politics and society: this work is intended to directly complement other research on fifteenth century Italian elites. Chapters two, four and five deal principally with this first theme. Chapter two considers the sociological debate concerning elite groups and introduces the personnel who manned Venetian missions, as well as outlining the pattern of Venetian diplomatic representation in this period. Chapter four considers the family connections of the Venetian ambassadors and their patrimonial interests, while chapter five focuses upon their humanist connections and political involvement. The second theme of the thesis is the actual diplomatic institutions of the Venetian state, but still through the eyes of the ambassador. This theme is particularly articulated in chapters three and six. In the former, I consider the mechanics of an embassy- the ambassador's election, commission, payment, entourage, duties and responsibilities. Chapter six addresses the question of change in diplomatic institutions in the second half of the *Quattrocento*, focusing especially upon the rise of the resident ambassador.

Such a study has necessitated the use of diverse source material. As I have noted, virtually none of the Venetian diplomatic dispatches or *relazioni* (the classic sources for Renaissance diplomatic history) survive for the second half of the fifteenth century, due to two fires in the Doges Palace in 1574 and 1577. Despite this lacuna in the Venetian archive, the prospect for the historian of Venetian diplomacy is not entirely bleak. In the absence of the traditional diplomatic documents, the history of Venetian ambassadors may be pieced together from a variety of manuscript and printed sources from Venice and elsewhere.

The two themes of the study I outlined above are reflected in the types of sources I have used. I have consulted material that has provided information of a biographical nature for use in the prosopographical study and also that which relates more specifically to diplomacy, and ambassadorial practice. There have been principally three types of sources used to construct the prosopographical database; biographical material, material concerning the official positions these men held, and documents pertaining to diplomatic office holding. I return to discuss these sources in detail in the second part of the chapter.

The material used to consider the second theme of the study has been more traditionally diplomatic, centring on the few fifteenth century diplomatic sources that remain in Venice. These have included the remaining diplomatic dispatches and other miscellaneous collections, but principally *Senato Secreta* which is the most useful single source for studying the history of Venetian diplomacy.⁵ I have also gone beyond the Venetian archive and looked at the diplomatic documents concerning Venice in four other major archives in Italy; Florence, Milan, Mantua and Modena, and especially at the dispatches of those ambassadors who were sent to Venice.

As well as these manuscript sources, there are also a number of primary sources relating to Venetian diplomacy which have been published in recent years and which I have used in this study. Most useful are those collections which relate solely to diplomatic practice. These include a collection of Milanese dispatches, and most significantly, a publication of the letters of Zaccaria Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador to Naples in 1471.⁶ Another publication of importance is the correspondence of Lorenzo de' Medici, a

⁵ ASV, Senato Deliberazioni Secreta, reg. 15-4 (1439-1512)- hereafter SS.

⁶ Dispatches and other diplomatic sources may be found published in, R. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, vol. 1, 1202-1509 (London 1864)- which has summaries of many Venetian dispatches, especially that of Zaccaria Contarini and Benedetto Trevisan, ambassadors to the Emperor in 1495. See Contarini's profile in appendix one for more information; Andrea di Franceschi, 'Itinerario di Germania dell'anno 1492', in E. Simonsfeld (ed.) *Miscellanea della R. deputazione Veneta di storia patria ser. 2, vol. 9* (Venezia 1903), pp. 227-345; P.M. Kendall and V. Ilardi (eds.), *Dispatches, with related documents, of Milanese ambassadors in France and Burgundy 1450-1483* (Athens, Ohio 1970-1971); other Venetian printed sources include F. Rossi, *Ambasciata Staordinaria di Sultano d'Egitto (1489-90)* (Venezia 1988); G. Dario, *22 Dispacci*

rich source of information on ambassadors of Venice and elsewhere.⁷ As well as these printed sources, there are also a number of articles and books which give a useful introduction to the sources available for the diplomatic historian.⁸

Historical background: medieval and Renaissance ambassadors

Differences between Medieval and Renaissance diplomacy

It is clear that diplomacy underwent profound changes from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Garrett Mattingly has suggested that the medieval world perceived Christendom as a single unit, despite internal conflicts in individual states, religious differences, inter-state warfare and political and diplomatic rivalries. This belief, however, was not reflected in common political institutions; Christian society in the Middle Ages was not based upon a common law or political system.⁹ This perception of Christendom, of course, had a significant impact on diplomatic practice.

da Constantinopoli al Giovanni Mocenigo; traduzione e commenti di Giuseppe Calo, introduzione di Alvise Zorzi (Venezia 1992); Gigi Corazzol (ed.), *Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro 1 novembre 1471-7 settembre 1473* (Rome 1994); Florentine sources include N. Lerz (ed.), 'Il diario di Griso di Giovanni', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. 117 (1959), pp. 247-78; P.J. Jones, 'Travel notes of an apprentice Florentine statesman, Giovanni di Tommaso Ridolfi', P. Denley and C. Elam (ed.), *Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein* (University of London 1988), pp. 263-80

⁷ *Lettere di Lorenzo de' Medici*, 7 vols. (Firenze 1977-98)- hereafter known as Lorenzo, *Lettere*

⁸ See for example B. Behrens, 'Treatises on the ambassador written in the fifteenth and sixteenth century', *English Historical Review*, vol. 51 (1936), pp. 616-27; V. Ilardi, 'Fifteenth century documents in western archives and libraries', *Studies in the Renaissance*, vol. 9 (1962), pp. 64-112; V. Ilardi, 'Fifteenth century documents on microfilm and research on Italian Renaissance history and culture', *Italian Quarterly*, vol. 27 (1986), pp. 55-61; *Aspetti e Momenti della Diplomazia Veneziana*, Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Archivio di Stato di Venezia (1982); For work on ambassadorial *relazioni* see D.E. Queller, 'The development of ambassadorial *relazioni*' in J.R. Hale, *Renaissance Venice* (London 1973), pp. 174-96 and for Florence, G. Bologna, 'Relazioni di ambasciatori fiorentini alla corte di Ludovico il Moro', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 9th series, vol. 4, anno 91-92 (1964-65), pp. 28-32;

⁹ G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London 1955), pp. 16-19; see also J.R. Hale, 'International relations in the west: diplomacy and war', in *The New Cambridge Modern History vol 1- the Renaissance 1493-1520* (Cambridge 1957), pp. 259-91

I want to emphasise three elements of medieval diplomacy which distinguish it from Renaissance diplomatic practice. The first concerns the concept of statehood and international relations (a term which can only really be used after the fifteenth century). Carter has explained that diplomatic activity in the Middle Ages was legitimised on the grounds that it was for the good of Christendom. With the emergence of more centralised states in Italy during the fourteenth century and after, however, diplomacy was perceived as justifiable for the good of the state.¹⁰ In the medieval period, because of a belief in the essential unity of the kingdom of Christ, the concept of states pitted against other independent states (diplomatically and militarily) was seen, at least in theory, as abhorrent. The diplomacy we find in the Middle Ages, then, was not generally practised between states as it was in the fifteenth century; instead, kings sent missions to their vassals and received envoys from them in return; princes received embassies from the subjects of their own and other states. Universities, feudal lords, and guilds all made use of embassies.¹¹

The second difference between medieval and modern diplomacy lay in the type of missions sent by individuals and groups. Thirteenth and fourteenth-century embassies were generally sent for specific purposes- to carry messages, formalise truces, communicate congratulations or sympathy.¹² When that specific purpose was fulfilled, the diplomatic agent would return home. By the fifteenth century, political and constitutional changes led to the development of resident diplomacy. Ambassadors were sent as permanent ambassadors with the responsibility to maintain relations between states rather than to respond to particular situations.

The difference in the types of missions used in medieval and modern times was also reflected in the sort of personnel who were sent on embassies. Up to the fourteenth

¹⁰ Carter, *Western European Powers*, p. 19

¹¹ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 23-24

¹² Carter, *Western European Powers*, p. 20

century, diplomacy was often conducted by either a '*nuncio*' or 'procurator'.¹³ A *nuncio* was a messenger of the state; he could be used to conclude a treaty, communicate messages, pay debts. A procurator, on the other hand, was able to go beyond merely expressing the will of his master; he was able to act for the principal (he was empowered to do what the principal would have done had he been there). It was quite possible for an agent to be invested both with the office of *nuncio* and procurator.

Donald Queller has noted that by the fifteenth century in Venice the use of the term *nuncio* was reserved for non-noble ambassadors (therefore usually secretaries);¹⁴ '*oratore*' or '*ambaxator*' was the term applied by contemporaries to patrician diplomats.¹⁵ The term '*orator*', then, was generally used to describe those who were fully accredited public officials, formally appointed to represent their employer, protected by diplomatic immunities and behaving according to traditional and established formula.¹⁶ Certainly in the Renaissance period the terms '*oratore*' and '*ambaxator*' were synonymous, although by the middle of the fifteenth century, the word '*oratore*' seems to be preferred.¹⁷ Another word associated with diplomatic representatives in this period was '*legato*'. This however, was a term almost exclusively used by the papal chancellery; it rarely appears in Venetian secular sources.¹⁸ It is also worth remembering that in the fifteenth century, although the word *oratore* tended to refer to a patrician ambassador, it eluded specific definition and could be used to describe a variety of posts.¹⁹

¹³ For this discussion, I have predominantly referred to D.E. Queller 'Thirteenth century diplomatic envoys: nuncio and procuratores' *Speculum*, vol. 35 (1960), pp. 196-213; see also B. Gueneé, *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford, New York 1985), p. 145

¹⁴ The role of the secretary in diplomatic missions is discussed in detail in chapter 2

¹⁵ D.E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1967) p.66

¹⁶ Behrens, 'Treatises on the ambassador', 619-21; M.E. Mallett, 'Ambassadors and their audiences in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Studies* vol. 8, no.3 (1994), p. 230

¹⁷ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p. 63; certainly in the archives I consulted in the ASV, the term '*oratore*' was used far more frequently than '*ambaxator*'.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 65; although do note the use of the term in the title of Ermolao Barbaro's treatise '*De Officio Legati*', which is printed in V. Branca (ed.), *De Coelibatu: De Officio Legati* (Firenze 1969), pp.159-167

¹⁹ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p. 60-61

Political change in the fourteenth century

We can ascertain that the changes in Italian diplomacy over the medieval and Renaissance periods were largely a result of political and economic changes which resulted in first the development of the Italian city state in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and then with the larger 'regional' states in the fifteenth century. By the thirteenth century, medieval communes were no longer able to rely on the feudal allegiance of their subjects; political power and authority had to be sought by different means. The easiest and most successful way to increase political authority was through warfare and the acquisition of new territory. As a result, by the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, many small independent communes were swallowed up by larger and more aggressive neighbouring states.²⁰

By the fifteenth century, these city states tended to either expand or become absorbed into larger, territorial states. In Northern Italy, Venice expanded her *terraferma* westwards and eastwards across the Friulian Alps, while Florence gained control over Volterra, Pisa and Arezzo.²¹ This process of expansion and state-building placed a new and marked emphasis on foreign policy; many resorted to diplomatic avenues to mediate relations between themselves and their new neighbours. In this they were aided by their political situation (and especially their size) which allowed them to formulate comparatively sophisticated foreign policies.²² While the European states of England and

²⁰ See L. Martines, *Power and Imagination- City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York 1980); for a detailed survey of the development of Italian states from the sixth century until the advent of the *signoria*, see P.J. Jones, *The Italian City-State. From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford 1997); see also J.E. Law, *The Lords of Renaissance Italy: the Signori 1250-1500* (Historical Association pamphlet 1981)

²¹ Mallett, 'Ambassadors and their audiences', p.230

²² Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp. 47-52; D. Waley also notes the peculiarities of the size of the states in Italy, see also D. Waley, *The Italian City Republics* (London and New York 1988), pp.7-8; for a comprehensive survey of the development of regional states in Italy and their comparative lack of centralisation see G. Chittolini, *La Formazione dello Stato Regionale e le Istituzioni del Contado nei Secoli XIV e XV* (Torino 1979)

France were troubled by internal conflict in the fifteenth century, these Italian regional states were more able to turn their attentions to foreign affairs and diplomacy.

What further contributed to the development of diplomacy was the relative smallness of the physical arena in which foreign policy was played out in Italy. Throughout most of the fifteenth century, Italy was left to its own devices by the other European states who were involved in their own internal and external divisions- few conflicts transcended the borders of the peninsula. It was this compactness and physical closeness, we are told, which meant 'A system of international relations emerged'.²³ Italy, with its tiny centralised states all jostling for power and authority in a small area allowed a microcosmic 'international society' to develop.²⁴ What this small scale diplomatic arena in Italy achieved in the fifteenth century was adopted by the new centralised, larger powers (England, France, Spain) in the sixteenth century.²⁵

Informal resident agents

While the resident *ambassador* was a creation of the fifteenth century, non-diplomatic *agents*, who for various reasons resided abroad, had always been used by governments as contacts and suppliers of information. Indeed many of these remained as informal representatives of governments abroad long after the establishment of the resident diplomat. In particular, ecclesiastical personnel, foreign representatives of banks, and merchant consuls had for centuries acted as permanent agents abroad for the state. In terms of the first, the papacy had kept a representative in Constantinople from the sixth to the eighth century. He was responsible for maintaining Roman business and interests there.²⁶ This was part of a long Roman tradition of employing resident agents to reside abroad in

²³ Mallett, 'Ambassadors and their audiences', p. 230

²⁴ Carter, *Western European Powers*, p. 21

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 20

²⁶ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 56

order to liaise with churches around the world.²⁷ This liaison was furthered by the practice of Italian states to send *legati* to Rome, with the purpose of maintaining permanent relations with the Papal States.

Informal diplomatic contact with Rome might also be maintained by cardinals, particularly towards the latter half of the fifteenth century. Stella Fletcher, in her work on Venetian cardinals between 1471 and 1492, has shown how changes in diplomacy and statehood in this period encouraged secular powers to use cardinals to promote their own interests. From a diplomatic perspective, cardinals were potentially valuable allies, in that they were resident in Rome and placed uniquely close to the Pope. As a result, in this period, cardinals began to take on many of the appearances of the resident ambassador.²⁸

The second group who were resident abroad on a semi-permanent basis before and after the fifteenth century were the merchant bankers of Lombardy and Tuscany. They maintained permanent representation abroad and sent home reports which often included information of both a commercial and more general nature; indeed these reports might sometimes act as the basis of military action.²⁹ The other non-diplomatic agents who resided abroad were merchant consuls. From around the twelfth century, merchants, and particularly Venetian merchants, gathered in the commercial centres of the East.³⁰ They began to organise themselves under consuls, who would act as arbiters for disputes between the merchants and represented the community before the local authorities. Initially they were elected by the merchants themselves, but gradually they became semi-official agents of the state, appointed and sent out by the state with the responsibility to act as a

²⁷ Carter, *The Western European Powers*, pp. 23

²⁸ See S.R. Fletcher, 'The making of a fifteenth century Venetian cardinal', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., vol. 31 (1996), pp. 27-49; S.R. Fletcher, *Venetian Cardinals at the Papal Court during the Pontificates of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, 1471-92* (PhD thesis, University of Warwick 1991), see pp. 61-176 for the behaviour of Venetian cardinals over this period and the overlap between their role and that of the Venetian ambassadors.

²⁹ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp 56-60; G. Mattingly, 'The first resident embassies; medieval origins of modern diplomacy', *Speculum*, vol. 12 (1937), pp. 424-26; Carter, *Western European Powers*, p. 23; P. Laven, *Renaissance Italy 1464-1534* (London 1966), p. 126

³⁰ On merchant consuls see also Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p.78

government official. The Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople was a traditional consular officer; he fused diplomatic and mercantile duties. Consuls did carry out many of the duties the resident ambassador later fulfilled- they gathered information, sent home messages, carried out Venetian orders.³¹ Even so, like the *legati* and foreign agents of banks, they were never ambassadors in the strict sense; they were not accredited diplomatic agents with diplomatic immunities.

The development of the resident

This study traverses the period of Italian history from the Peace of Lodi in 1454 until the invasion of Charles VIII in 1494. One reason for focusing upon this era of Venetian history is because historians generally accept that a new type of diplomat evolved in this period as a direct result of the political climate in Italy.³² The result of political change was what Garrett Mattingly called the 'new diplomacy', and the beginning of 'modernity' in international relations.³³ This 'new' diplomacy was characterised by the systematic exchange of resident embassies, which superseded the reliance on special ambassadors, envoys and procurators sent to carry messages or negotiate treaties.³⁴ This new diplomacy was widespread in Italy by the 1500s³⁵ and was common practice in the rest of Europe by the end of the sixteenth century.³⁶

³¹ See Hale, 'International relations in the west: diplomacy and war', p. 267

³² Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, M.A.R. de Maulde de la Clavière, *La diplomatie au temps de Machiavel*, 3 vols (Paris 1892-93); Berridge, *Diplomacy*, p. 3

³³ Mattingly, 'The first resident embassies' p. 423

³⁴ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, chapter on 'The Italian beginnings of modern diplomacy, especially pp. 50-53

³⁵ Mattingly, 'The first resident embassies', p. 432

³⁶ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 55; also see Hale, 'International relations in the west: diplomacy and war', p. 268. He argues that by 1504, or even a generation later, standing diplomacy was not the rule in Europe- only those countries interested in Italian affairs used it regularly; Berridge, in *Diplomacy*, p. 2, summarises Harold Nicolson's argument that it was the legacy of French, and not Italian, diplomacy which was more important in the development of modern European practice.

It is certainly true that by the end of the fifteenth century, a new term was beginning to appear in reports of foreign ambassadors home; the description of certain agents as '*residente*'. These diplomats differed significantly from the *ad hoc* special ambassadors who were sent for specific purposes. A resident diplomat was one who allowed permanent diplomatic relations to exist between two states; he was '...an ambassador the time for whose departure is not dependent on the conclusion of any particular negotiation'.³⁷ Rather than being sent to a state for a specific purpose, the resident was sent to gather general information and send it home. Often (although certainly not exclusively in the fifteenth century) a resident ambassador would stay in the state until he was replaced by another resident. This was essentially the difference between a *resident* and a *permanent* mission. The resident agent was an instrument of permanent diplomacy- a permanent mission was one which carried an expectation that it would be permanently filled (although it might occasionally be left vacant), whereas a resident embassy could finish at any time. Residency could exist without permanent relations, while permanent relations required the presence of resident agents.³⁸ As this system of permanent diplomacy developed in Italy, it was also characterised by an exchange of resident ambassadors between two states, although not on a systematic basis until the sixteenth century.

We are told that the reasons for the development of permanent diplomacy and the use of resident ambassadors lay in the political situation in the post-Lodi period. While I do not want to discuss political events in detail (I will return to this in chapter six), it is important to understand that despite the Italian League of 1454 and after, which was supposed to ally the major states of Italy for twenty-five years (when it was renewed), Italian states were not unified diplomatically or politically in these years. The forty years

³⁷ Mattingly, 'The first resident embassies', p. 427

³⁸ For this definition of permanent diplomacy see V. Ilardi, 'The first permanent embassy outside Italy; the Milanese embassy at the French court 1464-83', in M.R. Thorp and A.J. Slavin (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Honour of De Lamar Jenson* (Missouri 1994), p. 2; see also Kendall and Ilardi (eds.), *Dispatches with related documents of Milanese ambassadors, vol. 1*, p. vii

between 1454 and 1494 were characterised by minor conflicts between states, dynastic and territorial crises, and the construction of a series of leagues and counter-leagues aimed at mediating increasingly tense and volatile inter-state relations.

There have been a number of interpretations which seek to explain why residency and then permanence should develop in this sort of environment. The classic argument, which is essentially adhered to today by most historians, was offered by Garrett Mattingly in 1955. He argued that the use of residents was a direct response to the political events of the second half of the fifteenth century; he did not really differentiate between permanent and resident diplomacy. The expansionist policies of the Italian states (and particularly of Venice, Naples, the Papal States, Milan and Florence) and the new emphasis upon foreign policy as a means to consolidate power, meant that fresh diplomatic initiatives were required. In this context of alliance, counter-alliance, and sudden crisis, gathering and maintaining the flow of information about the attitudes, actions and intentions of neighbouring states had never been so important. The use of permanent diplomacy developed as states needed to be constantly informed of the movements of their neighbours.³⁹

Mattingly also related changes in diplomacy to developments in the nature of warfare, which he saw as occurring around this time. He argued that war was transformed in the second half of the *Quattrocento*; it became more rational and even civilised, and increasingly, 'The diplomat was needed to supplement the soldier'.⁴⁰ The 1450s and after, the era of the Italian League, were years when diplomacy, rather than war, was required to mediate inter-state relations.⁴¹ In his analysis, then, there was a clear distinction between diplomacy and war in these years. It was, in fact, the decline in the use and success of

³⁹ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 50; see also Hale, 'International relations in the west: diplomacy and war', p. 265

⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 53

⁴¹ Mattingly, 'The first resident embassies', p. 432

mercenary armies that was one reason for the development of the new diplomacy, 'Diplomacy was for rulers; war for hired men'.⁴²

Michael Mallett has criticised this part of Mattingly's thesis. Rather than accepting that diplomacy and war were separate spheres in this period, he has suggested that, on the contrary, diplomacy and war were deeply inter-linked. This was not a period when military leaders were despised and diplomats revered. In Venice at least, *provveditori* and diplomats were drawn from the same social class and were often actually the same men.⁴³ Diplomacy was interlaced with warfare; residents were often responsible for negotiating *condotte* for example, and ambassadors' dispatches were filled with information about warfare and the size and movements of armies.⁴⁴ Mallett's study of the War of Ferrara has confirmed this link between diplomacy and war: ambassadors were involved in every stage of the conflict.⁴⁵

A third explanation for the change towards resident diplomats and then permanence in diplomacy comes from Donald Queller. He has essentially subscribed to the thesis that the political events of the second half of the fifteenth century were the key to change, although has modified Mattingly's argument slightly. He has agreed that the concentrated political activity of the second half to the fifteenth century required the use of more and more ambassadors. In contrast to Mattingly, Queller believed that this diplomatic activity led to a practical problem; the provision of enough willing and able patricians to man such frequent embassies. It was a result of this lack of manpower, he has argued, that was one reason for the increasing use of residents, who could stay at their posts for longer periods and deal with any issues that arose. Resident ambassadors were one solution to the problem of finding enough willing men to serve on missions; the use of resident

⁴² Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 53

⁴³ See below for a discussion of the office of *provveditore*

⁴⁴ M.E. Mallett, 'Diplomacy and war in late fifteenth century Italy', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 67 (1981) pp. 273-75; for attitudes towards *condottieri* see also M. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters. Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London 1974), p. 208

⁴⁵ Mallett, 'Diplomacy and war,' pp. 281-82

ambassadors and the development of permanent institutions reduced the number of diplomatic appointments.⁴⁶

Linked to this argument is a fourth explanation; that residency and then permanence developed because it was more efficient than *ad hoc* diplomacy. Geoffrey Berridge has argued that there were practical and economic advantages to using resident ambassadors rather than special envoys; there was a sense that diplomacy could be practised more efficiently when it was permanent rather than episodic. Permanent representation in a foreign country allowed the ambassador to become accustomed to local tradition, custom and personalities. The gathering and sending of information home was likely to be more accurate and regular.⁴⁷ He has further suggested, as have Donald Queller and Joyceline Russell, that governments began to see residents as an increasingly attractive option as they were less obtrusive than special envoys; they could remain at their posts for a specific amount of time without drawing attention to their activities.⁴⁸

How sudden or gradual the change from special to resident diplomacy was has been a matter of some dispute among historians. Queller, for example, has asserted that there was no sudden transition from the use of special embassies to residents, emphasising the forces of continuity rather than change, 'One institution did not supplant the other, but existed alongside its predecessors, each used according to need.'⁴⁹ Mallett has emphasised that there were examples of residents before the 1450s, citing Zaccaria Bembo in Rome in 1435, Fantino Dandolo in Rome in 1431 and various Milanese ambassadors in the 1440s and 1450s.⁵⁰ Even so, he has seen the transition from special to resident diplomacy as 'reasonably dramatic'.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p.82

⁴⁷ Berridge, *Diplomacy*, p.3

⁴⁸ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, pp. 80-84; J.G. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance* (Philadelphia 1986), p. 69; Berridge, *Diplomacy*, p.3

⁴⁹ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, pp. 226-28; Mattingly suggests the continuity in diplomacy in his *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 88

⁵⁰ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p. 231

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 229

In recent years, the view that residency developed at all in the second half of the fifteenth century has been questioned. Riccardo Fubini, in two articles, has stated that he can find no evidence of the resident ambassador in the administrative practice of fifteenth century Italian states; permanent 'institutions' for resident diplomacy were not developed in this period.⁵² However, Vincent Ilardi has pointed out that while Fubini's argument may be true for Venice, it was not for Milan, which did develop permanent diplomacy in the fifteenth century. He has also argued that one would not expect developments in diplomatic institutions to be immediately mirrored in the official records; diplomatic institutions evolved gradually, and change was only officially codified once it was already quite developed.⁵³ Certainly the Venetian example appears to corroborate both these viewpoints. While permanent institutions did not develop in Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century, the state did make use of residents in an informal manner; their employment was not codified in the official government records until the sixteenth century.

In my view, Mattingly's interpretation of Renaissance diplomacy does not emphasise enough the dramatic distinctions between the diplomacy of different Italian states in the second half of the fifteenth century and the rate at which they submitted to change. A unfair criticism, perhaps; Mattingly was aiming to write a European history, one which identified pan-Italian and European trends in diplomacy over a number of centuries. Mattingly's long term vision and wide perspective make his work vital. Nevertheless, his study tends to leave us with an understanding of fifteenth-century Italian diplomacy as an homogeneous whole. I question whether there is even any meaning at all in the term 'Italian diplomacy' in the context of the later *Quattrocento*. The diplomatic practices and *mores* of the single Italian states were conditioned by trends and pressures unique to each; as a

⁵²R. Fubini, 'La figura politica dell'ambasciatore negli sviluppi del regime oligarchici quattrocenteschi', S. Bertelli, (ed), *Forme e Tecnici del Potere nella Città (secoli XIV-XVII)* (Perugia 1979-80), pp. 33-59; R. Fubini, *Classe dirigente ed esercizio della diplomazia nella Firenze quattrocentesca*, in his *I Ceti Dirigenti nella Toscana del Quattrocento* (Florence 1987), pp. 117-89

⁵³Ilardi, 'The first permanent embassy', p. 2

result, their responses to diplomatic innovation were far from consistent. For Venice, it was republicanism and the state's unique political attitudes which affected diplomatic change. The way we can perceive such attitudes and the correlation between politics and diplomatic representation is through identifying and studying the men who were chosen by the state to serve as ambassadors.

PART B: PROSOPOGRAPHY AND THE COMPUTER

My approach in studying these Venetian ambassadors has been prosopographical: biographical profiles of the life and works of the men who were appointed Venetian ambassadors lies at the heart of this study. My conclusions throughout the thesis are closely linked to this collective biography; it is intended that the profiles in appendix one should be read alongside the text of this work. This second part of the chapter is in two main sections. In the first, I discuss the advantages in using prosopography for historical research; I begin by defining prosopography and by outlining some of the computer applications available to the prosopographer. This first section goes on to consider some of the problems and advantages in using prosopography as an approach to historical research. In the second section, I describe the database for Venetian ambassadors I have created for the second half of the fifteenth century. I outline the sources employed in the construction of the survey and the criteria that have been applied in excluding or including certain individuals in the study. This second part concludes by discussing how various problems encountered in constructing the prosopography have been addressed.

The possibilities of prosopographical research

The use of prosopography as an approach to historical research has steadily increased since the 1970s and has touched almost every area of historical research; social, economic, institutional, and political.⁵⁴ Prosopography can be defined as a collection of data pertaining to the lives of a particular group of people: in some senses it is 'collective biography'.⁵⁵ It is not a method in itself but rather an historical approach, which encompasses a variety of techniques.⁵⁶ The objective of the prosopographer is to consider the common characteristics of the group he is studying in order to reach some conclusions about its nature and composition. The 'groups' that historians are able to study in this way can be roughly divided into two types, as Ralph Mathisen has shown.⁵⁷ The first sort are 'inclusive groups' which comprise as many individuals as possible in, say, a particular town during a specific time period. The second type of group consists of more specifically defined sub-sets of individuals, connected by particular characteristics, for example

⁵⁴ Early important works based upon prosopography include L. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2 vols. (London 1925); R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939). For some examples of how prosopography has been used more recently in work on Renaissance Italy see L. Cerioni, *La Diplomazia Sforzesca nella Seconda Metà del Quattrocento e i Suoi Cifari Segreti*, 2 vols. (Roma 1970); P.F. Grendler, 'The Tre Savi Sopra Eresia, 1547-1605. A prosopographical study', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. 3 (1979), pp. 283-340 - reprinted in P.F. Grendler, *Culture and Censorship in Late Renaissance Italy and France* (Variorum reprints, London 1981); M. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton 1980); Mary Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Society, 1480-1533* (PhD thesis, UCLA 1985); R. Pesman Cooper, 'The prosopography of the "Prima Repubblica"' in R. Fubini (ed.) *I Ceti Dirigenti nella Toscana del Quattrocento* (Firenze 1987), pp. 239-55; P.F. Grendler, 'The leaders of the Venetian state, 1540-1609: a prosopographical analysis', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. 19 (1990), pp. 35-85; Matteo Casini, 'La cittadinanza originaria Venezia tra I secoli XV e XVI: una linea interpretiva', in *Studi Veneti Offerti a Gaetano Cozzi* (Venice 1992), pp. 133-50

⁵⁵ For definitions of prosopography see L. Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), p. 46; Neithard Bulst, 'Prosopography and the computer: problems and possibilities', in *History and Computing II*, ed. Peter Denley, Stefan Fogelvik, Charles Harvey (Manchester and New York 1989), p. 13; George Beech, 'The scope of medieval prosopography', *Medieval Prosopography*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1980), p. 3

⁵⁶ See Bulst, 'Prosopography and the Computer', p. 14; N. Bulst, 'On the Object and Method of Prosopography', in N. Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet, *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography* (Michigan 1980), p. 16 (summary)

Venetian chancellery secretaries or Venetian ambassadors in the fifteenth century. While the attraction of prosopography is that it can be applied to any sector of society, irrespective of social status, it has been most commonly applied to elite groups.⁵⁸ This is partly due to the fact that individuals of a high social status tend to generate more biographical source material, but is also due to the increased interest in recent years, on the part of social scientists, in the development of elite cultures.

There are many advantages in using computer-based prosopography for historical research. Prosopography allows one to consider the links and common characteristics binding a particular group of people together. It transcends the usual disciplinary boundaries between social, political, economic and institutional history.⁵⁹ For example, a prosopographical study of university teachers in the Renaissance period casts light not only upon intellectual history, but also upon the place of the institution in Renaissance Italy and upon the social importance of university teachers.⁶⁰ Furthermore, such an approach allows one to consider individual biography in the context of the lives of other individuals. Macro studies of demography and life cycles can be examined alongside micro studies of individual men and women.

As historians such as Neithard Bulst have pointed out, prosopography lends itself well to computerisation, and this is perhaps one reason for its increased popularity in recent years.⁶¹ There are principally three types of databases from which the

⁵⁷ Ralph W. Mathisen, 'Medieval prosopography and computers: theoretical and methodological considerations', *Medieval Prosopography*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1988), pp. 74-78

⁵⁸ see Stone, 'Prosopography' pp. 52-57

⁵⁹ Bulst, 'Prosopography and the Computer', p. 14

⁶⁰ See P. Denley, 'Career springboard, or sinecure? University teaching in fifteenth century Italy', *Medieval Prosopography*, vol. 12, no. 2, p. 104; P. Denley, 'The Teachers and students of Italian universities in the Renaissance: towards a prosopographical data bank', *Schede Umanistiche*, n.s., vol. 2 (1994), pp. 249-60; P. Denley, 'Source-orientated prosopography: κλειω and the creation of a data bank of Italian Renaissance university teachers and students', in F. Bocchi and P. Denley (eds.), *Storia Multimedia. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of the Association for History and Computing* (1994), pp. 150-60

⁶¹ See Bulst, 'Prosopography and the computer', p. 13; Mathisen. 'Medieval prosopography and computers', p. 73

prosopographer can choose, the free-text, the hierarchical, and the relational database.⁶² In the first, information is stored in a 'free-text' format and a minimal structure is imposed upon the data. This has both advantages and disadvantages; while the lack of structure means that data can be stored in a form very close to the original source, it also severely hinders statistical analysis. The second option, the hierarchical database, goes to the opposite extreme by imposing an inflexible structure upon the data. Every record in the database is linked with one 'parent' (that is a record at the next hierarchical level) and one or more 'children' (records at lower levels). While this application allows quick access to information, its rigid structure makes updating information time consuming and complex. The relational database is the third possibility for the prosopographer and is this application that I have used for my research. Data is entered into a series of matrices, each with a set of unique field names. The length of characters for each entry in a field is pre-determined. The tables are linked to one another through an independent variable field- the 'key'. While this type of database does tend to use a considerable amount of computer memory, it allows records to be stored in any order, makes data extremely accessible through field names, and is easy to update.

There are, however, some general problems for historians using prosopography which will be considered here: more specific problems associated with my own prosopographical study will be discussed later. It is true, for instance, that prosopographical studies have limitations in their usage; this approach is not suited to every area of research. There are some historical topics that might not benefit from this sort of analysis and which are better approached from a different angle. Lawrence Stone has argued, for instance, that prosopography cannot tell us much about ideas, prejudices, passions, ideologies, and principles.⁶³ In fact, I would argue that recent studies have shown that collective biography can tell us much about the history of ideas. Margaret King's

⁶² For the following discussion of free text and hierarchical databases see Mathisen, 'Medieval

study of Venetian humanism in the fifteenth century, for example, was based upon a prosopographical analysis of those men who she defined as humanists.⁶⁴

The second general problem confronting the prosopographer lies with the size, type and definition of the 'group' to be studied.⁶⁵ The groups upon which most prosopographers decide to base their studies are usually constructed by them: the prosopographer needs to exercise caution when suggesting that their group had any contemporary meaning. With reference to size, a very large database could prove to be unmanageable, while a small prosopographical study might not provide a representative sample of individuals.⁶⁶ A third issue is that studies can only be meaningful if the 'group' to be examined is defined with care, particularly in the case of an 'exclusive' type of prosopography. Criteria for exclusion or inclusion in a prosopography need to be well defined.

The fourth problem facing prosopographers is that there will almost certainly be deficiencies and gaps in the documentary material which is the source of information for their study.⁶⁷ This of course is a problem for every historian but is especially problematic for a prosopographer as any absence of information can lead to misleading interpretations of the data. For example, a historian might wish to know the frequency with which French officials in the reign of Louis XVI held particular government posts. Because of anomalies in sources, for some individuals there will be a wealth of material available and for others very little. The computer when interpreting these data might imply that those for whom we have a lot of information led more active careers at the French court, while those about whom we have less would be seen as having less important careers. This of course, is deeply misleading; the absence of information about a certain official might be due to gaps

prosopography and computers', pp. 79-87

⁶³ Stone, 'Prosopography', p. 63

⁶⁴ King, *Venetian Humanism*; also see E. Cameron, 'Heroic ideas and hero-worship', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 40 (1997), pp. 217-26 which considers the issues in using biography to understand theological ideas of Reformation

⁶⁵ Bulst, Prosopography and the computer, p. 14

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 15

⁶⁷ See Stone, 'Prosopography', pp. 58-59

in source material rather than the individual not holding many positions during his career. A second related point is that there are some aspects of a person's life about which it is very difficult to find information. This of course does not imply (as the computer might) that this aspect of an individual's life did not exist or was unimportant or irrelevant. Once biographical information has been collected from the source material, the fifth issue for the prosopographer is sorting and classifying the data that have been collected.⁶⁸ The classification of data, particularly into a computerised database, is subjective and will prejudice any analysis that the database is likely to provide. Two historians might have exactly the same data but interpret them in entirely different ways because they have used disparate systems of classification.

The prosopography of Venetian ambassadors 1454-94

Many of the issues and problems outlined above are exemplified in the creation of the prosopography upon which much of my research is principally based. As outlined in the first section of the chapter, there are two main issues that have been investigated using this prosopographical database: the nature of Venetian office-holding and the development of a 'new' Italian diplomacy. In terms of the first, the prosopography has been used to consider the formation of an ambassadorial elite and whether a minority of individuals dominated ambassadorial office in the second half of the fifteenth century. It has investigated the dominance of certain families over diplomatic office holding in Venice in order to see whether ambassadorial office followed through generations of families, with experience and skills passed on from father to son. The second issue that has been addressed by the study concerns the nature of Renaissance diplomacy in general: a major focus of my research has been to consider the apparent emergence of permanent diplomacy

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 60-61

in the second half of the fifteenth century. This includes investigation of where ambassadors served on missions (and whether they served as resident or temporary agents) and of the relations between ambassadors and secretaries.

The definition of a 'core group'

In general terms, my prosopographical study includes biographical profiles of every individual who served as a diplomatic representative of the Venetian state between and including the years 1454 and 1494. A number of specific criteria have been used to establish what I am calling a 'core group' of one hundred and thirty-five men. The basic condition for inclusion in the survey has been that an individual has had to be referred to in the primary source material⁶⁹ specifically as '*ambaxador*', '*ambasciatore*', or '*oratore*' (or any derivatives) between and including the years 1454 and 1494. Note that those described as '*nuncii*' have not been included as this term is generally applied to secretaries in fifteenth century Venetian sources.⁷⁰ The date limits have been rigorously applied; only those men who held a diplomatic office so defined between and including these two years have been included in the study.⁷¹ Just one reference or more to an ambassadorial office between these years has justified the inclusion of the office-holder in the database. The other principal criterion of inclusion has been that the individual had to be Venetian and a member of the patriciate class. With the exception of a few high ranking chancellery

⁶⁹ By 'primary source' I mean any of the contemporary archival sources consulted in Venice, Milan, Mantua, Modena or Florence. This excludes chronologies, Marco Barbaro's genealogy or Pietro Gradenigo's eighteenth century list of ambassadors (see section below entitled 'The sources used to construct the biographical profiles', pp. 33-37 for more details)

⁷⁰ Appendix five, pp. 413-18 is a list of the secretaries who performed diplomatic service for the republic in the second half of the fifteenth centuries; the role of the secretary in diplomatic business is discussed in more detail in chapter 2, pp. 52-58

⁷¹ The strict application of these two dates has been essential to limit the size of the study. It means that individuals who only held posts before 1454 and after 1494 have not been included in the core group, while those who held one post in say 1494, and then went on to hold many others in the course of their careers have been included.

officials (which have been dealt with separately) both were a prerequisite for holding ambassadorial office.

One of the problems in constructing the core group has been that different primary and secondary sources sometimes refer to the same diplomatic post in various ways. The most common overlap has been with the posts of *bailo* and *provveditore*. One source, for example, might refer to a post as ambassadorial (using terms like '*oratore*', '*ambaxator*'). However other sources (or even the same manuscript) might refer to the same office as '*provveditore*'. Yet the distinction between a *provveditore* and an ambassador was quite clear to contemporaries. A *provveditore* was an administrator, sometimes sent to a particular region to provide discipline and supplies for military troops and often sent to communicate with the captain-general. The reason why some individuals were referred to as both *provveditore* and ambassador was that, while serving as *provveditore*, it was quite possible that an individual might also be commissioned as an ambassador, most usually to the captain-general. In these cases, I have always included the individual in the survey.⁷²

Another area of overlap has been between the ambassador and the *bailo*.⁷³ The Venetian state sent a *bailo* to various places in the fifteenth century, most famously, perhaps, to Constantinople. This office was a specific one and cannot be solely described as ambassadorial- the post carried both consular and diplomatic functions. Neither of these offices (*provveditore* or *bailo*) has been included as an ambassadorial position in the study. If an individual was referred to in any primary source as an ambassador (even if he was referred to as *provveditore* elsewhere) he has been included in the database. If an individual has been noted both as *provveditore* and ambassador, this is stated on the profile

⁷² It is worth noting that *provveditori* who served '*in campo*', were sent to the camp of the captain-general. Ambassadors, on the other hand, were sent personally to the captain-general in the same way as they might have been sent to a foreign prince. For more detail about the duties and roles of *provveditori* see M. E. Mallett and J.R. Hale, *The Military Organisation of a Renaissance State, Venice c 1400-1617* (Cambridge 1984), pp. 169, 172-75

⁷³ C. Coco, *Baili Veneziani alla Sublime Porta. Storia e Caratteristiche dell'Ambasciata Veneta a Constantinopoli*, (Venezia 1985); A. Da Mosto, *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, tomo II* (Roma 1940), p. 25

of that individual. The Venetian *bailo* has always been excluded as an ambassadorial office.⁷⁴

The information given in the profiles

Once I had decided on the core group of patrician ambassadors under the criteria established above, I then constructed biographical profiles of each individual on computer. The database I have used for my research is a *Paradox for Windows 7* database made up of three matrices dealing with noble ambassadors. The first of the three tables relating to ambassadors includes basic biographical information (name, variations of name, family relationships, life dates, name of wife and date of marriage, children, education received). The second table notes the places to which ambassadors were sent on missions, the dates of the embassy, the name of the secretary who went with them if known, the names of other ambassadors who were sent on the same mission and whether the ambassador was sent as a resident or as a special emissary. The third table has information on other posts these individuals held (military, governmental, naval, ecclesiastical), the date the position was held, and the secretary who was allotted to them if known. The database is given in the appendix to this thesis in the form of biographical profiles.

⁷⁴ There are some other embassies which may have been 'diplomatic', but which I have not defined as 'ambassadorial' and have therefore excluded from the core group. A notable example of this dates from 1468 when a group of Venetian patricians were sent to greet Emperor Frederick on his journey to Rome. ASMi, Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, (hereafter Sforzesco), Venezia, cart. 354, f. 221 is a list of those men sent and is headed 'Note degli ambasciatori mandati dal doge di Venezia all'imperatore'. However, I have not included all of these men in the core group as ambassadors- this is the only reference we have to them as 'ambassadors' and many never appear as ambassadors again in their lifetimes. The only men from these lists I have included as ambassadors are Domenico Moro, Francesco Giustiniani, Zaccaria Barbaro and Pietro Molino who were actually commissioned as ambassadors to the Emperor in 1468 (according to ASV, Senato Deliberazioni Secreta (hereafter SS), vol. 23, f. 149r); another office which has not been defined as 'ambassadorial' was the task of greeting of Emperor Frederick III in 1452 (the men in the core group who went appointed to this post were Paolo Barbo, Pandolfo Contarini, Marco Corner, Domenico Giorgio, Bernardo Giustiniani, Orsato Giustiniani, Pasquale Malipiero- see their profiles in appendix 1(pp. 236-376). Like that of 1468, this post has not been defined as ambassadorial.

Appendix five is a list of the men who acted as secretaries on diplomatic missions.⁷⁵ While details about most of these men are given in brief form (life dates and parents), a few have more detailed profiles. These exceptions are men who either served Venice particularly frequently as secretaries or who were what I am calling '*cittadini*' ambassadors; those secretaries who, usually by necessity, took on the role of diplomat. As non-nobles, these men differ significantly in their social, intellectual, economic and political backgrounds from the patrician diplomats. However, the services they rendered the republic qualify them to be defined as ambassadors. These men will, however, be dealt with separately in the next chapter.⁷⁶

The profiles of patrician ambassadors, then, concentrate principally on four matters; basic biographical information (life dates, parentage, marriage, children, economic and financial resources), ambassadorial offices held, other significant positions (naval, military, political) attained, education and intellectual interests. In terms of basic biographical information, the greatest problem in carrying out my analysis has been the existence of homonyms. This is a particular problem in Venice; as we shall see in chapter four, Venetian magistracies tended to be dominated by a relatively small number of clans.⁷⁷ From a practical point of view, then, many men who held diplomatic office in the second half of the fifteenth century had the same surname. The problem is compounded by the comparatively small number of first names, and the tendency within families to use the same first names repeatedly. If a homonym for a particular individual in the core group existed (as they almost always did) then it has been impossible to attribute any office to him unless he has been identified with a patronymic. This has been a particular issue with large clans and common first names (Antonio Contarini, for example, presented grave problems). In every case where this has been an issue, I have only ascribed posts to

⁷⁵ See pp. 413-18

⁷⁶ See chapter 2, pp. 52-58

⁷⁷ See chapter 4, pp. 114-15; see also figure 6 (p. 124) for the clan names of ambassadors.

individuals which I am sure that they held, although obviously this has been difficult and sometimes far from clear-cut, and have indicated this in a footnote.

In terms of political positions, not all offices held by an individual are provided in the profiles; only 'major offices' have been noted. This approach is clearly problematical, for two reasons. First, clear contemporary definitions of what constituted a 'major office' in the fifteenth century eludes us. As a result, we have to rely on historians' opinions as to what to include as the principal offices in the Venetian state. Fortunately, historians generally agree on this matter.⁷⁸ So, in this survey, these 'major' offices include membership of the Full *Collegio* and the Council of Ten, ambassadors, *rettori* in the Venetian *terraferma*, *provveditori*, procurators of San Marco, top naval captains and ducal electors. It should be emphasised that many of the men in the core group held a variety of lesser political posts in their youth, which are not noted on the profiles.⁷⁹ The second, more fundamental problem in concentrating on the major office holding of individuals in the core group is that such an approach ignores those men whose political power was not reflected in the number of offices they held, those who were able to influence events more informally. The difficulty in identifying these sorts of individuals is manifest; it requires long and careful study of all the relevant sources for each magistracy in Venice, something which has proved impossible with such a large core group. So, I have only been able to note informal political involvement/influence when I have come across it; this again is noted on the profile of the individual in appendix one.

The profiles show not only when an individual held an ambassadorial post, but also indicate the location of the commission for that embassy (if known). It is worth emphasising that it is often difficult to distinguish between the date of election to an

⁷⁸ See for example J.C. Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class* (Baltimore 1962), p. 23; King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 278

⁷⁹ Some minor offices were reserved for the young; the *Quarantia*, for instance, was traditionally a magistracy in which the young might be given a seat, see M. Sanuto, *De Origine, Situ e Magistratibus Urbis Venetae, La Città di Venezia 1493-1530*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Milan 1980), pp. 62-63

embassy and the date when an individual was actually away on the mission. It was quite possible for an ambassador to be elected to an embassy a year before he was actually sent. In my survey, the duration of the embassy itself has been noted if possible. If not, then the dates when it is known that the ambassador was absent from the state have been given.

In some cases, we only know the date when an individual was elected ambassador. This is quite unsatisfactory as individuals could and did sometimes refuse to take up ambassadorial posts to which they had been elected. Donald Queller has argued that ambassadorial office was often very unpopular, and that patricians frequently refused diplomatic offices to which they had been elected. My own research has shown that diplomatic office was refused on a regular basis (although I dispute that this shows that ambassadorial office was necessarily unpopular, something to which I will return in the chapter three).⁸⁰ Therefore, if we know that an individual was elected to an office, but he refused it, that post does not appear in the biographical profiles (sometimes, for interest purposes, it is noted, but it is not included in the database). If a person was elected to a post and it is not clear whether he actually served on the office, it has been noted in the profiles (the term 'elected' in brackets immediately succeeds the reference to the embassy)

Another problem related to the missions on which patricians were sent is that it has sometimes been difficult (and indeed misleading) to distinguish between different diplomatic missions. Embassies could and did run concurrently, and it was common for ambassadors to stop off on the way to their final destination in order to pay homage to a particular head of state or to communicate messages. I have overcome this problem by studying the commissions of the embassies themselves in order to ascertain the prime destination of the mission and by sometimes noting the 'stop-off' points of ambassadors.

A final element of the profiles has been to indicate the intellectual interests of the men who served Venice as ambassadors. On the profiles, I have included a list of the works

that each wrote and the names of some of those with whom they corresponded (unfortunately I have not been able to consult many of these works). This information is not exhaustive and should be seen as no more than a guide to the intellectual interests of these men- more information about them can be found elsewhere.⁸¹ The profiles also indicate as much information as possible concerning the education and academic qualifications of each individual and whether the ambassador was identified as a humanist by Margaret King.⁸²

The form of the profiles

Figure 1 below shows the structure which has been applied to every profile. In some cases, I have not found every piece of information noted; often, for example, we may not know the date of the will of an individual or perhaps where he was buried. When this sort of information has not been found, that part of the profile has been left blank. Care has been taken to maintain consistency between the spelling of names, and the Italian, rather than Latin or Venetian, form has been preferred (although choices have sometimes been quite arbitrary). Names of women have generally been given with the name of their father, and where possible also with the name of their paternal grandfather. All dates have been given in modern form. Any major contradictions between sources have been noted in footnotes, as have problems with homonyms. At the end of the profiles is a list of ambassadors who might have been included in the study, but for various reasons (which are stated) were eventually excluded.

⁸⁰ For further discussion concerning the possible reluctance of Venetians to take up diplomatic office, and Donald Queller's view of this, see chapter 3, pp. 98-104

⁸¹ King, *Venetian Humanism*; see also M.E. Cosenza's *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, 5 vols. (Boston 1962-67)

⁸² Margaret King defines her humanist group on the basis of a number of criteria, according to which she either includes or excludes men from her core group. These criteria include activity, significance, residence, and generation, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 255-72

Figure 1: The form of the profiles in appendix one

Surname, first name (variations of surname) (throughout the appendix, whenever the name of an ambassador from the core group appears, it is given in bold; secretaries listed in appendix five are indicated with an asterix after their name)

title (miles doctor etc.)

life dates (if not known then a 'floruit' date has been given, to indicate the period when we know the ambassador was alive)

names of parents and brothers; other close blood relations (cousins, uncles etc.)

date of marriage and name of wife; names of children

Ambassadorial posts

listed in chronological order, each post separated by a semi-colon

Other posts

listed in chronological order, each post separated by a semi-colon

Educational/intellectual interests

education (where studied; qualifications attained)

whether noted by King as a humanist

published works

letters- correspondence with other humanists

Other information

year enrolled in Balla D'Oro

any information regarding the economic/financial resources of the individual

any other relevant details

date of will

churches in Venice (unless otherwise stated) where funerary monuments/tombs can be found

Sources

abbreviated, in alphabetical order (according to abbreviated form- see list of abbreviations at beginning of thesis and start of appendix 1); each source and *registro/busta* number is in italics, with page or folio number, separated by a semi-colon. (Note: only a selection of sources have been given- not all references to the ambassador found have been noted.)

Ambassadorial commissions

lists those commissions which have been found, together with their location

Secondary sources

pertaining to the individual in question (note: only a selection of most important works are noted- readers should also refer to 'Sources' section below and to the bibliography)

The sources used in the construction of biographical profiles

These biographical profiles of the Venetian ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century are based on a variety of both secondary sources and primary sources.⁸³ In appendix one, I have provided a list of the sources used in compiling the individual biography with relevant page numbers towards the end of every profile. This should be seen as a guide; not all references relating to the individual have been listed, only those which were directly used to compile the profile.

The secondary works that I consulted can be divided into four types. The first sort I looked at were general Italian biographical and reference works. Although it has presently only reached the letter 'G', the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, was undoubtedly the most useful study for those individuals for whom there was an entry. *Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane*, edited by Antonio Emmanuele Cicogna (Venezia 1824) was also consulted. It not only gives the inscriptions on tombstones of prominent Venetians, but often provides potted biographies. The *Enciclopedia Italiana* was occasionally useful, but only for very prominent Venetian families. All of these sources provided basic biographical information; life dates, family, careers.

The second type of secondary source I consulted in the creation of the prosopography relates to biographies of humanists. Most useful in this regard was Margaret King's *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton 1980). The second half of her book is devoted to biographical profiles of the Venetian humanists who make up her core group.⁸⁴ Other sources which were referred to, but which

⁸³ For a complete list of the sources used in the construction of the profiles see the list of abbreviations given at the beginning of appendix 1 (pp.237-42) and at the beginning of this study.

⁸⁴ 26 individuals out of the 136 in my survey were noted by King as humanists and therefore have a biographical profile in the second half of her book (*Venetian Humanism*); please note that I have not been able to check every detail of the very extensive profiles provided in M. King's book. Rather, I have tried to concentrate on finding information for those individuals about which we know very little. Much of the data from King's profiles, then, has been used in the appendix without further corroboration from primary sources. I therefore recommend that the reader

were less useful, include E. Cochrane's *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago and London 1981), M.E. Cosenza's *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 300-1800*, 5 vols. (Boston 1962-67), C. Frati's *Dizionario bio-biografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani dal secolo XIV al XIX* (Firenze 1933) and *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, edited by B. Kohl and R. Witt (University of Pennsylvania 1978). All these sources were used to compile information about the education and intellectual interests of ambassadors, and should be referred to for more detail on humanist works.

Secondary sources relating to particular families or individuals comprise the third type that were looked at. These included Bianca Betto's study of the Mocenigo family⁸⁵ and Margaret King's *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello* (Chicago 1994).⁸⁶ Biographies of individuals which were particularly useful include Patricia Labalme's *Bernardo Giustiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento* (Rome 1969) and Nella Giannetto's *Bernardo Bembo. Umanista e politico Veneziano* (Firenze 1985).

A fourth type of secondary source used in the construction of the profiles were those concerned with particular groups in society. Eight of those men who held diplomatic office in the second half of the fifteenth century (and who therefore have been included in the prosopographical survey) later became doges. For information regarding their early careers, Andrea da Mosto's *I Dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe* (Venice 1939) was consulted. By far the best source of information on the chancellery secretaries of Venice was Mary Neff's 'Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and

consult King's notes for those twenty-six individuals who are also diplomats in this period and are included in the core group.

⁸⁵ B. Betto, 'Linee di politica matrimoniale nella nobiltà veneziana fino al XV secolo. Alcune note genealogiche e l'esempio della famiglia Mocenigo', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. 139 (1981), pp. 3-64

⁸⁶ Other works on individual families include R. Gallo, 'Una famiglia patrizia. I Pisani ed I palazzi di S. Stefano e di Stra', *Archivio Veneto*, 5th series, vol. 34-35 (1944), pp. 65-228; J.C.

Society, 1480-1533' (PhD thesis, UCLA, 1985), which includes biographical profiles of secretaries in the given years, and was therefore used extensively.⁸⁷

A number of printed primary sources have proved to be useful in gathering detail about the political and diplomatic careers of these men. Marino Sanuto's *Diarii*, his commentary on the War of Ferrara and his *Vite dei Dogi* have all provided detail about individuals in the survey, particularly those who were more active in the later *Quattrocento*.⁸⁸ Another essential source in reconstructing the ambassadorial careers of the men in my survey has been Lorenzo de' Medici's letters, which are currently being published. They cast light in particular upon those Venetians who were sent (or who stopped off) as ambassadors to Florence.⁸⁹

My starting point in the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* was Marco Barbaro's *Arbori dei Patriti Veneti*⁹⁰ which provides genealogical tables for every noble family in Venice, and is vital in discovering the family relationships of the men in my survey and in estimating birth and death dates.⁹¹ Moving on to fifteenth-century primary sources, finding birth dates was further facilitated by using the *Balla D'Oro* which provided the date that young men enrolled in the *Balla D'Oro*, which might allow them to become members of the *Maggior Consiglio* before the usual age of twenty-five.⁹² Birth dates were also estimated

Davis, *A Venetian family and its Fortune 1500-1900. The Donà and the Conservation of their Wealth* (Philadelphia 1975)

⁸⁷ For posts that Venetians held in the *terraferma*, see the series of volumes *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma* (Milano 1973-1979)

⁸⁸ M. Sanuto, *Commentarii della Guerra di Ferrara tra il Viniziani ed il Duca Ercole D'Este nel MCCCCLXXXII* (Venice 1929); M. Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto* 58 vols. (Bologna 1969-70)- hereafter Sanuto, *Diarii*; M. Sanuto, *Vite dei Dogi (1474-94)*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Padua 1989); Sanuto, *De Origine, Situ e Magistratibus*

⁸⁹ Lorenzo, *Lettere*

⁹⁰ ASV, Miscellanea Codici, serie 1, Storia Veneta, reg. 17, M. Barbaro, A.M. Tascha, *Arbori dei Patriti Veneti* (fotocopia)- hereafter Barbaro

⁹¹ It should be noted, however, that Barbaro can be unreliable on details.

⁹² ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Balla D'Oro, registri 162/1-164/3 (hereafter Balla). The archive of the *Balla D'Oro* tells us the date at which individuals were enrolled and also the number of years they had 'completed' at that date. Virtually every individual in my survey was noted as 'anni XVIII completorum'- as having completed eighteen years- at the time of their enrolment. This, then, can allow us to establish their approximate birth dates. See chapter 5 for more details of the *Barbarella*, pp. 166-67.

using *Cronaca Matrimonia*.⁹³ This lists marriages, together with the date of the wedding and often the full name of husband and wife. This source allowed me to find out who the fathers of the individuals in the survey married and allowed me to identify spouses of the individuals in the core group. Death dates were sometimes ascertained from a will. Unfortunately, however, I was only able to locate wills for a handful of the men in the survey.⁹⁴

A variety of primary sources were consulted in order to reconstruct the careers of individuals in the survey. Elections and commissions of diplomatic office were principally found in *Senato Secreta*, which was the major source used.⁹⁵ I also consulted Pietro Gradenigo's eighteenth century list of ambassadors, also in the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*.⁹⁶ This list has proved very problematic. It is likely that it was compiled mainly from chronicles, and in many cases has been proved to be inaccurate. Names have sometimes apparently been confused (such as ascribing offices to Pietro Donato when in fact they were held by Pietro Diedo), and dates occasionally inaccurate. I felt therefore that I could not rely on this source, and so went through every office listed and checked them against primary source material (especially *Senato Secreta*). If it was clear to me that a reference was inaccurate, then I excluded it from my study (although I have occasionally recorded these inaccuracies on the profiles). If I was not been able to verify whether a reference is correct or not, I included it in the study, but I noted on the profiles (in a footnote) that the reference was found in Gradenigo's study, and was not mentioned anywhere else. A second list of Venetian ambassadors is in the *Biblioteca Querini-Stampalia* in Venice- this list had many of the same errors as Gradenigo (both used the

⁹³ ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Cronaca Matrimonia reg. 106/1-107/2 (hereafter Cronaca Matrimonia)

⁹⁴ Venetian wills are located in ASV, Cancelleria Inferiore, Notarile Testamento- see profiles for full references to wills of to individuals in the survey.

⁹⁵ SS, reg. 15-44

⁹⁶ ASV, Miscellanea Codici, serie 1, Storia Veneta, reg. 74- Pietro Gradenigo, 'Memorie storico-chronologiche ad ambasciatori della Serma Republica di Venezia spediti a vari principe' (hereafter Gradenigo)

same chronicles as their principal source) and therefore has been treated with similar caution.⁹⁷ Equal wariness has been applied to chronicles which I have consulted.⁹⁸

In Milan, I looked at the series *Sforzesco*, *Potenze Estere* for Venice and Rome.⁹⁹ They gave vital information concerning the election of officials in Venice and the duration of office holding. In reconstructing the non-diplomatic careers of patricians, *Segretario al Voci* in Venice was essential.¹⁰⁰ It provided the election of men to offices such as *consigliere*, *savio di terraferma*, *savio grande*, *avogador di comune*, and various posts that Venetians held on the *terraferma*. Unfortunately, there were major gaps in the information that this source provided as registers have not survived for the whole period 1454-1494. For the most part however, the *savi* for the years that *Segretario alle Voci* misses were found in *Senato Secreto*. *Consiglio dei Dieci*, *Deliberazioni Miste* was consulted for the elections to the Council of Ten and for *avogador di comun*.¹⁰¹ *Maggior Consiglio*, *Deliberazioni* provided the names of ducal electors and also some information about ambassadors and embassies.¹⁰² Elections to other posts and details about ambassadorial offices were located in the *Collegio* archive (*Collegio Notatorio*, *Collegio Commissioni*, *Collegio Lettere Segrete*).¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Venice, Biblioteca Querini-Stampalia, Classe IV Cod. CCLIII bis. *Ambascerie ordinarie e straordinarie espedita a diversi Potentati del Mondo dalla Republica di Venetia...dalla sua fondatione dino al presente Anno MDCXXXVI, con li tempi delle Espeditione cosi delli uni come delli altri et sostanza delle commissioni e delle Extraordinarie* (hereafter Stampalia). Note that because I consulted the Gradenigo list first, references from Stampalia do not appear as often in the profiles, because this list often repeats the information found in Gradenigo's work.

⁹⁸ Marciana, It VII Cod. 791 (7589) *Famiglie nobili*; *Cronaca detta Veniera fino al 1580*, f. 146-167v; Marciana, It VII Cod. 794 (8503) Giorgio Dolfin, *Cronaca Veneta dalle origini al 1458* f. 417v-60v (1450-58); Marciana, It VII Cod. 1 (8356) Agostino degli Agostini, *Cronaca Veneta*, f. 147v-175; Malipiero, D., 'Annali Veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500', ed. F. Longo, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tomo 7, parte 1, pp. 5-586, parte 2, pp. 589-720 (1843)

⁹⁹ *Sforzesco*, Venezia, cart. 340-384; *Sforzesco*, Roma, cart. 41-42, 56-58, 87-94, 101-111; Napoli cart. 196, 198-201, 218, 220, 227, 243-44, 250-51

¹⁰⁰ ASV, Segretario alle Voci, Universi o Miste, reg. 4-7

¹⁰¹ ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, *Deliberazioni Miste*, reg. 13-29 (hereafter CXMiste)

¹⁰² ASV, *Maggior Consiglio*, *Deliberazioni*, reg. 22-24

¹⁰³ ASV, Collegio, Commissioni, b. 1A; Collegio, Commissioni, reg. 1482-95; Collegio, Lettere Segrete reg. 5-7; Collegio, Lettere Segrete F. 1; Collegio, Lettere Sottocritte, Terra, F.1; Collegio, Lettere Principi, F. 39 (Napoli, Sicilia, Malta); Collegio, Lettere Principi, F. 35 (Re di Spagna); Collegio, Notatorio, reg.8-15

Issues and problems solved

One of the methodological problems with the prosopography I have created is that the individuals in the core group did not necessarily perceive themselves as part of a 'group' of Venetian ambassadors. There was certainly no 'group consciousness' among them in the way the term is understood today. Neither did these individuals solely define themselves as 'Venetian ambassadors'. Indeed, as mentioned above, eight became doges in the latter parts of their political careers and most of the others held a variety of highly influential positions in Venice later in their careers. Nevertheless, at least while they held the position of ambassador to the Venetian Republic, there was evidence of personal identity. In their many letters to Venice and other Italian heads of state, they signed their letters suffixing their name with the descriptor '*oratore*'. They frequently corresponded with fellow ambassadors, Venetian and otherwise, and often sought the advice of other ambassadors in the states in which they were residing.

A second problem with my study has been the deficiencies in the source material. There were a minority of ambassadors, like Bernardo Bembo and Bernardo Giustiniani, for whom there was a wealth of biographical information which has been gathered from monographs, Margaret King, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* and other secondary sources.¹⁰⁴ At the other extreme, there were some individuals for whom perhaps only one or two references were located in the primary sources. As mentioned above, this is problematic; can we assume that the individuals for whom there are few references in the primary and secondary sources led less active political careers than those for whom we have more information? The answer in this case is that we probably can. It is a fair assumption that those individuals who repeatedly appear in the primary and secondary sources as ambassadors and political office holders did indeed lead more active careers

than those for whom only a few references have been found. While there are undoubtedly be embassies and political offices in these years which have not been located, they will be in the minority.

Fifteenth-century material, of course, is not necessarily suited to a computerised structure; often the primary source material has not been clear-cut or definite enough to sit easily in the structure of a computer database. I have found for example, inconsistencies in the spelling of names, anomalies in how countries and kings are referred to, and variations in the dates given to missions between different sources. Any contradictions in source material which I have not been able to rationalise are noted on the profiles. The aim in drawing up this prosopographical survey has been to make the profiles as clear and simple as possible, while at the same time, not simplifying the data to such an extent as to compromise the integrity of the sources I have used.

The men that Venice chose to employ as her ambassadors profoundly affected the nature of diplomatic practice. Furthermore, the choice of these men as ambassadors reveals much about the aims and objectives of the Venetian state, its views and aspirations. As a result, a survey of those men who were sent abroad as Venetian representatives is fundamental to my study. The advantage of this prosopographical approach is that it allows us to consider patterns in the behaviour and experiences of Venetian ambassadors as a group, while also focusing in upon case studies of individuals. The survey provides names and biographical information for the currently faceless individuals who performed diplomatic service for the Venetian republic. It casts light on the functioning of diplomacy in practical ways; how missions were elected, sent, paid. Further, however, it reveals the character of the men Venice chose to employ as her representatives in a time when

¹⁰⁴ Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*; Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo*- see their profiles in appendix one for other sources of biographical information

diplomatic relations were becoming increasingly vital. By analysing the characteristics of these men, and by determining their similarities and their differences, we can learn more about the nature of Venetian diplomacy.

CHAPTER 2

DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL AND EMBASSIES: A DIPLOMATIC ELITE?

This chapter deals with the matter of a supposed 'diplomatic elite' from two perspectives; first from the point of view of their background and their non-diplomatic experience, and second from the perspective of their actual involvement in Venetian diplomacy. In terms of the first point, the chapter shows first that far from being an homogeneous group, the men who were employed by Venice as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century were a mixed group. Indeed, it is misleading to call these one hundred and thirty-five men a 'diplomatic elite' as they were drawn from a variety of elite groups. They were, for instance, military and naval commanders, political leaders, humanist intellectuals. The second point highlighted by this chapter concerns the actual involvement of these men in the diplomacy of Venice. It shows that within the core group there was in fact a small group of men who dominated diplomatic office holding in Venice out of all proportion to their numbers. In a sense, this portion of the core group were an 'elite'; they had reached the peak in the field of diplomatic activity, by holding the most important posts and greatest number of diplomatic offices.

The chapter is, then, in three main sections. The first considers the sociological definition of an 'elite', and the use of the concept for a study of Renaissance Italian history. The second section introduces the core group of Venetian patrician ambassadors, and highlights the differences in their backgrounds and political/military/naval experiences. In this section, I also discuss the secretaries who were sent on missions with these patrician ambassadors. Many of the comments made in this section form the basis of discussion in later chapters. The third part of the chapter focuses on the embassies sent by Venice, on which this diplomatic personnel served. It considers the frequency of diplomatic office holding among the core group and concludes that fifteenth-century Venetian diplomatic

activity was dominated by a small group of patrician men. Later chapters consider in more detail the military, naval and political experience of these men.

PART A: ELITES AND HISTORY

The term 'elite' dates from the seventeenth century. However, it entered common usage in Britain and America in the 1930s with the writings of sociologists, notably Vilfredo Pareto. He defined elites as those who dominated their particular branch of activity. For him, the concept of an 'elite' was very much associated with the idea of a governing elite. His views were largely supported by Gaetano Mosca; both were interested in those individuals with power and authority, although Mosca was the first to distinguish between the elites and the rest of society, and to note the importance of the relationship between the elites and the middle classes. Both men stated that every society had a governing minority which ruled over the rest of the population and both noted the possibility of change over time in elite circles; elite groups could be superseded or might be incorporated into other groups. However, their opinions differed in that Pareto argued for a separation between the rulers and the ruled (even in a democracy), while for Mosca, the elite was heterogeneous and depended on interaction with other classes in society.¹

Later work concerning elites pursued many of Pareto and Mosca's ideas. A further distinction claimed by historians and sociologists, however, has been to differentiate between the idea of an 'elite' and the concept of social class. F.C. Jaher has argued that the upper strata of society can be divided into two groups. The first of these were the upper classes, who retained control over the economy, politics, the army and the navy. The

¹ These arguments are summarised in T.B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society* (London 1964), pp. 7-13, but see also V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, 4 vols (London 1935); G. Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, ed. A. Livingstone (London, New York 1939)

second were the elites, those who actually exercised authority in a society.² Raymond Aron has tried to establish a relationship between the governing elite and social classes and has considered the importance of intellectual elites.³ C. Wright Mills, spurning the term 'ruling class', has defined a 'power elite'; a group distinguished by their authority and political importance. He has denied that the power elite could be controlled by the masses through voting. He has also argued for the homogeneity of the power elite, a part of his theory which has been heavily criticised.⁴

Marxist interpretations of history have also affected our understanding of the ruling classes in society. Marxist theory has stated that every person in society is either part of the ruling class, or is a member of one or more subject classes. The dominance of the ruling class lies in their control of the most important means of economic production. An essential part of this theory has held that these classes are locked into a perpetual struggle. Ultimately, the working classes would win this class struggle and a 'classless society' would be introduced.⁵

This monocausal explanation of class and class struggle has been shown to be inapplicable in many cases. We now know that economic factors cannot explain the composition of every type of society. Indeed, the case of Renaissance Italy shows that the leaders/elites of particular societies were defined on far more than economic and even political grounds. Richard Trexler, in his work on Florence, has shown that some *cittadini* groups in society were regarded as members of an 'honour elite'. These were men who

² F. C. Jaher (ed.), *The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful- Elites and Upper Classes in History* (Urbana 1973), p. 2

³ Summarised in Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, p. 13; R. Aron, 'Social structure and the ruling class', *British Journal of Sociology*, 1 (1) pp. 1-16, 1 (2) pp. 126-43 (1950)

⁴ Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, 32-34; C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York, Oxford 1956)

⁵ For a clear statement of Marxist theory see Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, pp. 24-25

were not necessarily powerful in terms of holding leading political office or holding great wealth, but who were part of an elite which 'embodied secular authority and social order'.⁶

There are both advantages and disadvantages in studying elite groups in history. The benefits are that as governors and rulers, elites are often the 'movers' in society; by looking at their relationships with one another and with other social groups, we can undoubtedly understand more about how that society functioned. The construction and evolution of elite groups is of major importance in distinguishing between the nature of different societies.⁷ On the other hand, there are many pitfalls in applying the concept of an elite to fifteenth-century Italian history. Most obviously, the term 'elite' did not exist in the fifteenth century. The meaning of the word as we understand it today, however, can perhaps be found in contemporary sources. Richard Trexler has noted that the equivalent of an 'elite' in Italy in the medieval and early modern periods was '*uomini di stato*' or '*uomini da bene*'. These were taken to be the men who held public office, served on diplomatic missions, paid taxes.⁸ As we shall see in chapter three, many of the men who served the Venetian state as ambassadors were described using exactly these phrases.

More problematic, perhaps, is the task of defining the 'elite' group. Imposing the term 'elite' upon one section of society implies homogeneity and some unity of purpose, skills, resources and power of those within that group. However, the concept of an 'elite' may be applied to many different groups in society; it can be used to describe not only those who exercised the greatest authority in society, but any one who reached the highest level in their particular field of activity. Thus defining the elite group under investigation is of paramount importance.

The problems associated with defining an elite group can be demonstrated by considering Peter Burke's comparative study of Venice and Amsterdam from 1578-1719,

⁶ R. Trexler, 'Charity and the defense of urban elites in Italian communes' in Jaher, *The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful*, pp. 65-66

⁷ Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, pp. 13-14

⁸ Trexler 'Charity and the defense of urban elites', pp. 64-65

which has considered the differences and similarities between the 'elites' of these two states.⁹ Burke's approach has been prosopographical and his core group of 'elites' has been composed of five hundred and sixty-three men. For Venice, this 'elite group' he has confined the 'elite group' to those who were appointed doges and Procurators of San Marco in this period (two hundred and forty-four in all).¹⁰ While he has defined elites by three criteria, status, power and wealth, he has essentially associated the concept of the 'elite' with what he defined as the rulers/governors of the state.¹¹

His work indicates some of the problems in trying to define an elite too closely. For him, the Procurators of San Marco and the doges in Venice constitute a political elite: the reality, however, was far more complex. Both offices were of great social and political importance in the state; they were the highest political positions a Venetian patrician could attain. However, they were not the *only* posts of power or authority in the state; procurators and doges were not solely responsible for directing political policy in Venice. Burke does admit in his study, that by concentrating upon office-holders, he has not been able to consider those who were able to informally influence politics without holding major political offices.¹² However, his study does not consider those who had the potential to direct and influence policy. These men include ducal electors, members of the *Collegio* (especially *savi di consiglio*), and members of the Council of Ten (and the *Zonta*) who by the end of the fifteenth century were increasingly controlling Venetian foreign policy.

Bearing these issues in mind, I use the term 'diplomatic elite' with great caution. In fact, simply defining Venetian ambassadors as an 'elite' belies the complexity of a group with a variety of backgrounds and experiences. The Venetian ambassadors were defined by much more than simply their diplomatic status. Some were military and naval leaders, while others sat in the highest councils in Venice. Many served as *rettori* in the *terraferma*.

⁹ P. Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth Century Elites* (London 1974)

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 14

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 9

¹² *ibid.*, p. 7

A few were also part of what we might define as an ‘intellectual elite’; they had humanist interests, and were intellectuals, sometimes graduating as *dottori*. Ambassadors, then, were drawn from a number of elite groups: we shall see below whether the term ‘diplomatic elite’ has any use at all in our study of Venetian diplomacy in the second half of the *Quattrocento*.

PART B: VENETIAN DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL

Venetian diplomatic personnel can be divided into two groups. The first were patrician ambassadors; fully accredited agents of the state, employed to act as Venetian representatives abroad. The second type of diplomatic personnel were the secretaries who accompanied ambassadors, to act as their assistants, scribes, message-bearers, or who were independently appointed as envoys on less prestigious and important missions. The responsibilities of the two groups were usually quite distinct; as we have already noted, the focus of this thesis is primarily on the role of patrician ambassadors. Yet there are some instances when the separation in the duties of the secretary and the patrician became more blurred. On some occasions, those who were initially sent abroad as secretaries were required (for various reasons) to take up the mantle of ambassador. These *cittadini* ambassadors form an important sub-group in our discussion of fifteenth century Venetian diplomacy.

Patrician ambassadors

My research shows that between 1454 and 1494, Venice employed one hundred and thirty-five men as ambassadors, according to the criteria outlined in chapter one: these men constitute the ‘core group’ of the study. These men served on three hundred and eighty-two missions in these forty years, as well as on more than one hundred missions which lie

outside the time period 1454-1494 (which are nevertheless listed in the profiles in the first appendix to the study).

Although a diverse group, the men in the core group were similar in a number of ways. First, every individual in the core group was a male patrician. All were Venetian by birth. Many owned land on the *terraferma*, and had property in a variety of *sestieri* in Venice itself.¹³ Every one of them held a number of non-diplomatic posts and offices in their lifetimes, many of which were political. None of the men in the core group served only as a diplomat in the course of their careers.

Here, though, the similarities between the men in the core group end. Although every one of them was a patrician, there was considerable variety in their socio-economic backgrounds. They were members of a wide range of different clans in Venice; some were from the richer, larger and more prestigious *case* (such as the Contarini, the Giustiniani and the Foscari) while others were members of smaller *case*; the Bonzi and the Da Mezzo. Venetian ambassadors came from both the *case vecchie* and *case nuove* in fairly equal numbers. Their personal and family wealth (which was so important in diplomatic office holding) varied considerably.¹⁴

The men in the core group came from a variety of backgrounds. Many, for instance, had humanist interests; a few, such as Ermolao Barbaro and Bernardo Bembo, were some of the foremost humanists of the age. Others in the core group, however, never received humanist training, either by choice or because they were born in the late *Trecento*, before the great period of humanist education in Venice. Some of the ambassadors obtained commercial and mercantile experience prior to serving as diplomats: many of these men

¹³ We have comparatively little information concerning the geographical distribution of patricians in Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century. However, for the diffusion of the nobility in the *sestiere* of San Polo see J. Wheeler, *The Sestiere of San Polo: a Cross Section of Venetian Society in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1995), pp. 30-60, 89-117. See p. 92 for information about Federico Corner (one of the ambassadors in the core group) who lived in San Polo.

¹⁴ A full discussion of the familial and clan links among members of the core group can be found in chapter 4, pp. 114-52

were, in fact, already experienced travellers. Ludovico da Mosto, for instance, travelled widely throughout the Mediterranean, and when he was twenty, took a galley to Flanders and England. From there he participated in an expedition to new lands in Africa. Indeed, he provided the first European description of northern Atlantic coast of Africa.¹⁵

The non-diplomatic offices held by the individuals in the core group varied. A proportion, for instance, served in the Venetian navy, some holding the prestigious title of captain-general at sea, usually after they had held some diplomatic posts.¹⁶ Many held important posts during wartime- a large number were *provveditori in campo*. Many of the men in the core group were knights (indicated by 'miles' in the profiles) often as a result of their diplomatic service. Sebastiano Badoer, for instance, was sent as ambassador to King Mattia Corvina of Hungary in 1474 to try to persuade him to send an army against the Turks. Badoer won the support of Corvina and was created a knight by him in 1474.¹⁷ A significant proportion of the men in the core group also served on the Venetian *terraferma*, especially as *rettori* in the important centres of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo. Only one man in the core group held an ecclesiastical office; this was Ermolao Barbaro who was made Patriarch of Aquileia in 1491.¹⁸

In terms of holding political office, the fortunes of the Venetian ambassadors were also mixed. Most held at least some political posts in their lifetimes, although the types of posts to which they were elected varied considerably. Some of these individuals played a minor role in the functioning of Venetian government, holding lesser posts such as that of *savio agli ordini*. Others were some of the most important politicians in Venice. Many, for instance, were *savi grandi*, while others, such as Domenico Trevisan and Girolamo

¹⁵ Ugo Tucci, 'Mercanti, viaggiatori, pellegrini nel Quattrocento', *Storia della Cultura Veneta* 3/2, pp. 324, 343; for da Mosto's Atlantic travel see T. Gasparini Leporace (ed.), *Le Navigazioni Atlantiche del Veneziano Alvise da Mosto* (Roma 1966)

¹⁶ See below for further discussion of the captain-general, p. 61

¹⁷ *DBI* vol. 5, pp. 124-26

¹⁸ For Ermolao Barbaro's controversial acceptance of the office of patriarch and subsequent events see King, *Venetian humanism*, pp. 202-05 and chapter 6, pp. 221-22

Barbarigo, held the post of Procurator of San Marco. All but one of the doges in the second half of the fifteenth century served as an ambassador earlier in their career.¹⁹

The criterion of including every man who served as an ambassador between 1454 and 1494 in the core group means that there is great variety in their life dates, and in the periods when they were politically and diplomatically active. Some of the ambassadors in the core group were born in the 1390s (and whose careers were almost over by the middle of the fifteenth century), while others were born after the middle of the fifteenth century (and whose careers only developed at the end of the fifteenth century and after). However, the period of activity of the majority of those in the core group lay somewhere between these two extremes. The birth dates of those included in the core group span over fifty years from the 1390s to the 1460s, while death dates run from the mid-fifteenth until the mid-sixteenth century. The core group, in fact, spans three or four generations. In the case of the Lion family, for instance, Andrea, Marino and Girolamo (grandfather, father and son) all served as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁰

The principal of including only those ambassadors who held an office between 1454 and 1494 means that the core group is essentially artificial construct; those holding offices (only) before 1454 or after 1494 have not been included in the study. It is important, then, to highlight those ambassadors whose careers were very much 'at the edge' of the period in question (and to understand that they cannot always be taken as representative of the group). The list below shows those individuals (who have been included in the core group) who were born in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and whose diplomatic and political careers had generally ended by the mid-fifteenth century (although they did hold office at some point during or after 1454).

Paolo Barbo 1416-1462

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of the political and other posts held by men in the core group, please turn to chapter 5, pp. 175-88

²⁰ See their profiles in appendix one and their family tree (Plate 9, between pp. 113 and 114).

Francesco Contarini, circa 1421-1460

Pandolfo Contarini 1413- circa 1464

Orsato Giustiniani died 1464

Pasquale Gradenico born circa 1393

Ludovico Loredan 1393-1466

Pasquale Malipiero circa 1392-1462

Barbone Morosini circa 1414-1457/8

Maffeo Pesaro born circa 1415

The list below indicates those individuals at the other end of the scale. Again, these are all men who have been included in the study, but in this case whose political and diplomatic careers were primarily focused upon the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (although again they did hold at least one ambassadorial office before 1494).

Francesco Capello 1460-1513

Paolo Capello 1452-1532

Giorgio Contarini born circa 1445

Zaccaria Contarini 1452-1513

Marco Dandolo 1458-1535

Domenico Trevisan 1446-1539

Many of the men in the core group served in political and diplomatic offices into their sixties and seventies. Others in the core group had their political and diplomatic careers shortened for various reasons. Girolamo Barbarigo, for instance, was sixty-five when he died after an illustrious political and diplomatic career- if he had lived, he may

have beaten his brothers to the dogeship.²¹ Others in the core group died of plague or illness abroad; Pietro Diedo, for instance, died while on a mission to Cairo in 1490, leaving his secretary to continue with the mission.²² A number of the men in the core group were sent into exile. Nicolò da Canal, for instance, was condemned in 1470 for his failure to save Negroponte and was exiled to Portogruaro, where he died in 1483.²³ Domenico Bollani was exiled in 1493 for taking bribes.²⁴ Vitale Lando was condemned by the Council of Ten for betraying public secrets in 1478.²⁵ Antonio Loredan was recalled from his embassy to Rome in 1486, facing accusations of sodomy with his secretary Bernardo Theotino. He was exiled from 1489 to 1493, but returned to Venice and served as ambassador on at least three more occasions.²⁶

While the core group men are united by a few basic criteria, then, their experiences in Venetian government and society were very mixed. I would argue that the variety in the lives of these men means that we cannot talk about a 'typical' ambassador or their 'typical' experiences; there was no 'normal' career path to becoming an ambassador. Furthermore, the capabilities and attitudes of these men as ambassadors, and therefore the potential 'success' of a mission, were a product of their experiences, intellectual, political or otherwise. However, the success or failure of a mission was not merely due to the influence of the ambassador, but also of his secretaries.

²¹ See *DBI* vol. 6, pp. 66-67 and King, *Venetian humanism*, p. 319

²² See *DBI* vol. 39, pp. 778-81 and Diedo's dispatches from Egypt- ASV, Senato, Archivi Propri, Egitto, F. 1 (1489-90), published in F. Rossi (ed.) *Ambasciata Straordinaria al Sultano d'Egitto (1489-90)* (Venezia 1988)- see also the discussion concerning Giovanni Borghi below, p. 57.

²³ King, *Venetian humanism*, pp. 347-48

²⁴ *DBI* vol. 11, pp. 289-90 and King, *Venetian humanism*, pp. 341-42

²⁵ D. E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate, Reality versus Myth* (Urbana 1986), pp. 214-15; see chapter three for further discussion of this case, pp. 106-07

²⁶ This case will be discussed in more detail below, pp. 56-56

Secretaries and cittadini ambassadors

The second type of personnel who were critical in the functioning of Venetian diplomacy were secretaries. They were usually employed either as envoys to minor states (or to attend minor negotiations in an important state) or as assistants to patrician ambassadors who were serving abroad on diplomatic missions. On the rare occasions when the patrician ambassador became incapacitated, the secretary might be expected to take up his post and act as a *cittadini* ambassador in his absence.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the majority of Venetian secretaries employed to serve on diplomatic missions in either capacity were drawn from the chancellery. This is illustrated in appendix five, which provides a list of the Venetian secretaries employed to serve on at least one diplomatic missions between 1454 and 1494.²⁷ In most cases, the name of the secretary, his life-dates and father's name are noted, but in some cases more biographical details are given (usually for those individuals who were particularly active on the diplomatic front). This list shows that I have located sixty-three individuals who served as secretaries on diplomatic missions in the second half of the fifteenth century; of these, fifty-eight were chancellery secretaries.²⁸ The fact that so many secretaries in this period were drawn from the chancellery is of some significance. The use of state-appointed secretaries, as opposed to assistants employed personally by a patrician ambassador, may be evidence of a move towards modernity in diplomatic practices.

The chancellery itself operated with about fifty men at any one time; between 1450 and 1533, Mary Neff has suggested that over four hundred men were employed by it in some capacity.²⁹ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was supervised by the Chancellor

²⁷ See pp. 413-18

²⁸ According to Neff's appendix, Chancellery secretaries; also note that these figures and much of the content of the next few paragraphs have been drawn from Mary Neff's important thesis.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 4; for the development of a chancellery elite in the sixteenth and seventeenth century see G. Trebbi, 'La cancellera veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII', *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, vol. 14 (1980), pp. 65-125

and governed by the Council of Ten.³⁰ Its employees had to be members of the *cittadinanza originaria*, a relatively fluid group in the *Quattrocento*, but which by the sixteenth century was defined as those who could prove that they and three generations of their family had been born in Venice.³¹

The men employed in chancellery who went on to serve Venice diplomatically were a varied group. Some, as we shall see, became diplomats of considerable importance while others did not progress beyond the minor post of coadjutor. These differences in political standing were mirrored by variety in their social fortunes.³² Whatever their social background, however, the chancellery provided non-noble Venetians with at least the possibility of permanent and even high employment for the state. Mary Neff has suggested that the chancellery, by providing the *cittadini* with a role in Venetian government, contributed to the mythic social stability of the state.³³

The duties that secretaries performed abroad varied. In wartime they might be used as envoys to the *provveditori in campo*, or to negotiate *condotte*.³⁴ In peacetime, they were frequently employed on diplomatic missions abroad; indeed they were essential to the practice of Venetian diplomacy. I begin, then, by briefly considering the role of secretaries as envoys, and then go on to concentrate upon their behaviour and actions as assistants to patricians ambassadors.

Envoys were normally used by Venice when the pomp (and expense) of a full patrician embassy was not required, either because the purpose of the mission was of a relatively minor (or at least routine) nature, or because the state which was receiving the mission was fairly minor or unimportant. As we shall see below, the relative 'importance'

³⁰ Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 129

³¹ *ibid.*, pp. 10-11; for a discussion of the *cittadinanza originaria* see M. Casini, 'La cittadinanza originaria Venezia tra i secolo XV e XVI una linea interpretiva' in *Studi Veneti Offerti a Gaetano Cozzi* (Venezia 1992), pp. 133-50

³² M. Neff, 'A citizen in the service of the patrician state: the career of Zaccaria de'Freschi', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. vol. 5 (1981) p. 34, 39

³³ *ibid.*, p. 34

³⁴ Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 129

or prestige of various destinations for diplomats varied according to the political situation at the time; politics then, rather than geographical location, influenced the type of person who would be sent abroad as the diplomatic representative.³⁵

In some cases, there were advantages in sending secretaries as envoys rather than using a patrician ambassador for the task. An envoy tended to be quieter and less conspicuous than an ambassador; the latter often travelled with large entourages of family and servants and was usually welcomed by a party of local gentlemen and dignitaries once he arrived at his destination. Furthermore, the lack of retinue meant that the envoy could travel more speedily than the ambassador and so might be used in cases of particular urgency.³⁶

The second way secretaries served Venice diplomatically, and it deserves particular attention, were as the assistants of patrician ambassadors. Particularly important missions often required not only a secretary, but also secretarial assistants, known as *coadjutors*. As assistants, secretaries would perform a variety of roles. They would usually be expected to administer the day-to-day running of the mission, such as filing, transcribing notes, checking information and making contacts. They might be expected to write dispatches back to Venice.³⁷ They might also go on mini diplomatic expeditions of their own: it was common for a patrician ambassador to send his secretary to nearby locations to deal with particular negotiations or other matters while he remained in place at the foreign court.³⁸

From the point of view of the secretary, serving abroad as a secretary to a patrician ambassador must have had advantages. As an aide to an ambassador, he could

³⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 131-33, see also this chapter, pp. 63-64

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 132

³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 136, 149; for other duties of the 'good secretary' see Trebbi, 'La cancelleria veneta', p. 111

³⁸ Neff, 'Zaccaria de Freschi', p. 48. For example see appendix 4 (pp. 407-11) which is an index of the letters of Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan when they were ambassadors to Milan in 1494. This shows that Badoer and Bembo sent their secretary, Giorgio Nigro, to Vigevano

have acquired experience which might later permit him to negotiate in his own right and be employed independently as a diplomatic envoy. Service abroad would also have provided an opportunity to experience non-Venetian society and to train away from the control of his supervisors. In addition, impressing a patrician mentor might also lead to the possibility of promotion later in one's career.³⁹

Indeed, the relationship between the patrician ambassador and his secretary was an important one. The two (or more if coadjutors were employed) spent a considerable amount of time together and were expected to work together on such matters as writing dispatches and collecting reports. Unfortunately we do not know the role that the patrician ambassador played in the appointment of chancellery secretaries. The nobility do not appear to have had any formal input in the appointment of their secretaries, although it seems likely that patricians often recommended particular secretaries.⁴⁰

The experiences of the diplomatic secretaries employed in the second half of the fifteenth century indicates this informal role of the patrician ambassador in appointing secretaries. Clearly, the patronage or friendship of a patrician ambassador was a useful tool for preferment in secretarial office. This is indicated by the fact that many of the secretaries employed on diplomatic missions in these years repeatedly served with the same patrician ambassadors. Tommaso de' Freschi, for instance, was the diplomatic assistant to Bernardo Bembo twice, in 1475 and 1478. Zaccaria de' Freschi served with Antonio Vettori three times and Ludovico Lando twice.⁴¹ It seems unlikely that this is a coincidence and would suggest that patricians at least had an informal role in the appointment of their secretaries. This is corroborated by Marino Sanuto, who noted how Marcantonio Morosini

while they remained in Milan- Marciana, *Dispacci alla Signoria di Sebastiano Badoer e Bernardo Bembo*, pp. 14v-17r.

³⁹ Neff, 'Zaccaria de Freschi', p. 36

⁴⁰ Neff, *Chancellery secretaries*, p. 139

⁴¹ Neff, 'Zaccaria de Freschi', pp. 46-47

and Melchior Trevisan, as *provveditori*, requested the appointment of Nicolò Aurelio and Giorgio Negro respectively as their secretaries in 1499.⁴²

I would suggest that the most important role of the Venetian secretary in diplomatic matters was to provide continuity in diplomatic relations. Venetian patrician ambassadors were only sent abroad on missions for a few years at most; it was a staple of the Venetian political system that political (and diplomatic) office be rotated among the noble class. This discontinuity was countered by the secretaries who were permanent employees. They often remained in a state once the patrician ambassador had left in order to await the next Venetian ambassador, brief him and then act as his assistant.⁴³ In this sense, they are important in the debate over the rise of residency; while permanent embassies were not systematically used by Venice until the sixteenth century, continuity was provided before that by using secretaries. Furthermore, continuity was also assured in times of crisis, when the secretary might be expected to take the role of ambassador.⁴⁴ This usually happened when the patrician ambassador was incapacitated for some reason. In these cases the secretary essentially took on the full role of ambassador. To illustrate this I want to look at two case studies, that of Antonio Vinciguerra and Giovanni Borghi.⁴⁵

Vinciguerra had an important career as a secretary for Venice. He was secretary to some of the most important ambassadors of the age (including Bernardo Bembo and Ludovico Foscari) and served as envoy to Florence, Rome and Veglia. In 1485, four ambassadors were sent *in obedientia* to the court of Pope Innocent VIII. Of these four, Antonio Loredan remained on in Rome as resident ambassador. On 7 September 1486, a letter arrived from Rome in the Council of Ten, accusing Loredan and his secretary

⁴² Sanudo, *Diari* vol. 2, p. 970

⁴³ Neff, 'Zaccaria de Freschi', pp. 33-34

⁴⁴ Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 137

⁴⁵ Although we do have other examples- for example, Giovanni Dario was sent to Turkey in 1479 with Tommaso Malipiero and managed most of the negotiations with the Turks there himself- see Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p.416; Giovanni Dario, *22 Dispacci da Constantinopoli al Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*; traduzione e commenti di Giuseppe Calo, introduzione di Alvise Zorzi (Venezia 1992)

Bernardo Theotino of sodomy. To try to resolve this crisis, Pietro Diedo and Nicolò Michiel were elected as ambassadors to Rome, but neither were sent.⁴⁶ In the event, the Council of Ten elected to send the responsible and experienced chancellery secretary, Antonio Vinciguerra, to Rome. His office was not an easy one; he was to secretly demand that Loredan return to Venice without the Pope finding out the details of the case. As it turned out, Vinciguerra stayed in Rome from November 1486 until November 1487 and took on the role of full ambassador there until he was replaced by Bernardo Bembo. His extensive correspondence with Venice in this period shows he was involved in negotiations over the war against the Duke of Austria, and devoted much time to issues concerning the situation with the Turks. He even dealt with the delicate problem of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁴⁷

Giovanni Borghi's time as an ambassador resulted from rather different circumstances. He was required to take over responsibility for a mission to Egypt when Pietro Diedo, the patrician ambassador, died suddenly in 1490. Diedo had been commissioned in 1489 to obtain the Sultan of Egypt's recognition of the devolution of Cyprus to Venice after the hand-over of Caterina Corner. The support of the Sultan was crucial in the defence of Venetian Cyprus against the Turks.⁴⁸ The importance of the negotiations meant that when Diedo died, Borghi had to complete the negotiations. In a landmark treaty in March 1490, Borghi agreed to give Venetian tribute in return for the Sultan recognising Venetian possession of Cyprus. The agreement has been considered one of the greatest triumphs of Venetian diplomacy.⁴⁹

The secretary, then, performed a crucial role in administering diplomatic legations and was often charged with diplomatic duties of his own. As an assistant to the patrician

⁴⁶ For the role of Pietro Diedo, see *DBI* vol. 39, p. 780

⁴⁷ For this whole case, see B. Beffa, *Antonio Vinciguerra Cronico, Segretario della Serenissima e Letterato* (Berna and Francoforte 1975), pp. 53-62

⁴⁸ Map 3 (between pp. ix and 1) indicates the important strategic location of Cyprus.

ambassador, he would be fully briefed about the mission and would have probably been privy to confidential information. Beyond his administrative duties, the secretary was also an insurance policy; an experienced secretary might step into the shoes of his patrician mentor if the situation demanded it in order to complete negotiations or provide continuity to the mission. However, these cases are the exceptions; secretaries were not in any way ‘apprentice ambassadors’; fully accredited diplomats were always drawn from the patrician class in fifteenth-century Venice, although secretaries might be used for minor legations. Continuity was central to the secretary’s role; while patrician ambassadors came and went, secretaries were permanent employees.

PART C: AN INTRODUCTION TO VENETIAN DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION

These two types of diplomatic personnel served on an array of diplomatic missions. Renaissance Venetian diplomatic institutions (if we can even speak of ‘institutions’ in this period) elude simple division and classification. Venetian embassies were sent to a variety of destinations, for differing lengths of time and with quite distinct purposes. In this last section, I consider the destinations of Venetian missions, their length and the reasons why they were sent. I then describe the distribution of diplomatic office among the core group of one hundred and thirty-five men: this shows that diplomatic office was dominated by a clique of patrician men in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The range of places to which Venetian ambassadors and secretaries were sent between 1454 and 1494 were diverse. Diplomatic legations were sent to virtually every Italian state in this period, as well as to many countries across Europe and the East. Within

⁴⁹ Neff, *Chancellery secretaries*, p. 137; *DBI vol. 12*, p. 666; see also Pietro Diedo and Borghi’s dispatches which have now been published- Rossi (ed.), *Ambasciata Straordinaria al Sultano d’Egitto*; for Diedo’s commission see *SS vol. 34*, f. 45r

Italy, Venetians were sent to Florence, Milan, Rome, Naples⁵⁰ (the major states on the peninsula) and to lesser ones such as Mantua, Modena and Urbino.⁵¹ Outside Italy, embassies were sent across France and Central Europe, to the Holy Roman Emperor, the Duke of Burgundy, the King of France and the King of Hungary. Venetians were sent as far afield as France and Spain in the west.⁵² The most distant embassies on which Venetians served were to the East, especially to the Ottoman empire and Persia.⁵³

The number of Venetian representatives sent to each of these destinations in the second half of the fifteenth century varied. If we consider the second appendix to this study, it is immediately apparent that considerably more Venetian ambassadors were sent to Rome than any other destination.⁵⁴ We can account for this in two ways. First, many of these ambassadors were sent *in obedientia* to celebrate the accession of newly elected Popes.⁵⁵ Venice usually sent four patrician ambassadors to Rome at these times, but with the elevation of Paul II (a Venetian) to the Papacy in 1464, the Republic sent ten ambassadors, from some of the most important families in Venice. The second reason why so many Venetian ambassadors were sent to Rome was because of its significance as a diplomatic centre. Even excluding the ambassadors sent to Rome *in obedientia*, more Venetian diplomats were sent to Rome than anywhere else. This was undoubtedly because Rome was a listening post; it was an important diplomatic centre where Italian and non-Italian ambassadors gathered to collect and exchange information.⁵⁶

The second most common destination for a Venetian ambassador in the second half of the fifteenth century was Milan. There was a Venetian present in Milan for much of the

⁵⁰ For relations between Venice and Naples in this period, see M. Jacoviello, *Venezia e Napoli nel Quattrocento, Rapporti fra i due stati e altri saggi* (Napoli 1992) esp. second chapter 'Rapporti politici e diplomatici fra i due stati', pp. 43-88; Corazzol, *Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro*

⁵¹ For the political division of Italy in 1454 see map 2 (between pp. ix and 1)

⁵² See map 1 (between pp. ix and 1)

⁵³ Map 3 indicates the extent of the Ottoman empire in 1480 (between pp. ix and 1)

⁵⁴ Appendix 2 (pp. 377-93) shows the destinations of Venetian ambassadors between 1454 and 1494

⁵⁵ P.C. Clarke, *The Soderini and the Medici- Power and Patronage in Fifteenth Century Florence* (Oxford 1991) p. 73

period, and on almost an annual basis in the 1480s and 1490s. Other Italian destinations which often received Venetians include Ferrara, Bologna, Mantua, Modena and Siena. Venetian diplomats were also sent to Florence, although on a fairly infrequent basis.⁵⁷ Diplomats were more rarely sent to destinations like Urbino, Forlì and Parma. Common destinations for Venetians outside Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century included the Holy Roman Empire and Turkey.

In the case of Turkey, it is worth bearing in mind that the high proportion of ambassadors indicated as serving in the Ottoman Empire does not include the Venetian *bailo*.⁵⁸ The large number of ambassadors sent here reiterates the fundamental importance of Venetian-Turkish relations in any understanding of international relations in the second half of the *Quattrocento*. Venetian ambassadors were of key importance in mediating Turkish-Venetian relations, and the *bailo* and Venetian ambassador often worked together on diplomatic and political matters.

Diplomatic missions to the Emperor were also very common in the second half of the *Quattrocento*. As with Rome, many of these ambassadors were sent as part of a group of diplomats, for ceremonial or congratulatory purposes.⁵⁹ Venetian embassies were also sent to France and to the Duke of Burgundy on a regular basis. They were less frequently sent to Spain (although they were more often sent to the King of Aragon) and occasionally to Hungary.⁶⁰ Embassies to England were extremely uncommon; we have only one instance of this dating from our period, and even this is not a definite reference. This was Bernardo

⁵⁶ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp.91-92

⁵⁷ One reason for this was that Venice and Florence were rarely allied in the second half of the fifteenth century- see chapter 6, pp. 217-28

⁵⁸ See chapter one for the reasons why the *bailo* has been excluded from the prosopographical study, pp. 35-36

⁵⁹ As noted in the last chapter (p. 36) some honorary missions have not been included in the prosopographical database; the most important exclusion is was when a group of Venetian patricians were sent to greet Frederick III on his visit to Italy in 1468.

⁶⁰ For relations between Hungary and Venice in the Renaissance see T. Klaniczay (ed.), *Rapporti Veneto-Ungheresi all'epoca del Rinascimento* (Budapest 1975) esp. L. Elekes, 'La politica estera di re Mattia e gli stati italiani nella seconda metà del secolo XV', pp. 243-55 and L. Stardy, 'Il ruolo Venezia nei rapporti persiani e georgiani all'Ungheria', pp. 257-67

Bembo, who in 1483 or 1484 may have gone to England while serving as ambassador in France.⁶¹

Fifteenth-century embassies were frequently sent by Venice to the captain-general, the military commander of Venetian land forces.⁶² These types of missions were, in some senses, quite different from those sent to a foreign power. Often the ambassadors sent to a captain-general would have already been serving as *provveditori* and were then sent to the captain-general as an ambassador with a special commission; the distinction between a military and diplomatic commission, therefore, could occasionally become rather blurred. However, embassies to a captain-general, as we noted in the first chapter, differed from *provveditore* missions in that they were sent to the individual (in a similar way that an embassy could be sent to a foreign prince) rather than to the actual camp of the captain-general.⁶³

One other possible commission for a Venetian ambassador in this period was to attend a diet or conference. Often, an ambassador might attend a conference while already commissioned as diplomat to a particular state. For example, Marco Dandolo was ambassador in Milan from 1496-97, and while there, attended the conference of Vigevano in 1496.⁶⁴ With large and important conferences, however, one or more ambassadors were required specifically to attend them. Paolo Barbo di Nicolò, for example, dealt with some

⁶¹ For Venetian embassies to England see L. Firpo (ed.), *Ambasciatori Veneti in Inghilterra* (Torino 1978)- this states that the first Venetian mission to England was that of Pietro Contarini and Luca Valaresso in 1496 (p. xii); for Bembo's possible visit to England, see Sanuto, *Commentarii della guerra di Ferrara*, p.81; King, *Venetian humanism*, pp. 335-39, *DBI* vol. 18, p.105; Gianetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, p.43; Brown, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, p. 485, notes the election of Bembo as diplomat to England, although has no other mention of him as ambassador.

⁶² For a full discussion of the role of the captain-general, see Mallett and Hale, *The Military Organisation of a Renaissance State*, pp. 155-59

⁶³ Chapter 1, p. 35, footnote 72

⁶⁴ CXMiste reg. 27, f. 70v, 76r

of the Venetian negotiations in the Peace of Lodi in 1454.⁶⁵ Ludovico Foscarini and Orsato Giustiniani were sent to represent Venice at the Diet of Mantua in 1459.⁶⁶

The duration of these embassies varied depending on the commission of the ambassador. Generally speaking though, Venetian embassies were short, rarely lasting more than just a few years. Missions that were sent with a specific mission in mind, such as the negotiation of a treaty or attendance at a marriage ceremony, obviously only lasted as long as it took to complete the mission, sometimes just a few weeks or a month. The longest special missions, even if unsuccessful, rarely lasted more than eighteen months. Resident missions generally did not exceed two years in total. The only exception to these cases were missions a long distance away from Venice, which involved a long travelling time. Caterino Zeno's embassy to Persia, for example, officially lasted from 1471-74, although this included travelling time and missions to Poland and Hungary en route to his return to Venice.⁶⁷

It was possible (although rare) for two embassies to the same place to run consecutively, which would mean that the Venetian ambassador remained at his destination for a longer period of time. This most commonly occurred when special ambassadors completed their particular duties and then stayed on in the host state as the resident diplomat there. Antonio Loredan, for example, was initially sent to Rome as ambassador *in obedientia* to Rome in 1485 with three other patrician ambassadors, but stayed on as resident in the Curia.⁶⁸ Even if two missions did run together, the Venetian ambassador was rarely abroad for more than two years.

While it was unusual for ambassadors to serve in the same state for two terms consecutively (except where a special mission ran into a resident one) it was quite possible for an ambassador to be sent to the same destination several times in the course of their

⁶⁵ *DBI* vol. 6, pp. 254-55 and King, *Venetian humanism*, 329-30

⁶⁶ For their commission see SS vol. 20, f. 189v

⁶⁷ For his election see SS vol. 25, f. 12r, for his commission see vol. 25, f. 69v

⁶⁸ For his commission see SS vol. 32, f. 146r-147v

diplomatic career. Bernardo Bembo, for example, served in Florence on two occasions in 1475-76 and 1478-80.⁶⁹ Triadano Gritti served at least four times as the ambassador to Rome.⁷⁰ Bernardo Giustiniani served four times in Rome, and twice in Naples.⁷¹

There are, I would suggest, three reasons why certain ambassadors served in the same places frequently in their careers. First, some patrician ambassadors were so competent and experienced that they were sent repeatedly to the most prestigious destinations (especially Rome) and on the most important embassies. For example, the eminent statesman-humanist Bernardo Giustiniani was continually called upon to serve on important missions: in 1470 he was sent to Naples to rescue an important mission which had gone badly wrong in the hands of Filippo Correr.⁷² Second, some ambassadors were regarded as particularly knowledgeable in the affairs of certain states. This is especially true of Bernardo Bembo, who was a friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, and who became closely associated with the Florentine humanist circle. He was seen as something of a specialist on Florentine affairs (he was called in to replace an unpopular Venetian ambassador Giovanni Emo in Florence in the 1470s).⁷³ Finally, some embassies required the attendance of some of the most important Venetian nobles (who were relatively few in number). This was especially the case with honorary missions such as those *in obedientia* to new popes, which required men of a particular social and political standing. Important Venetians such as Triadano Gritti, Orsato Giustiniani, Nicolò Tron, Pietro Mocenigo were called upon to serve on these missions, in the case of Gritti, four times (in 1455, 1458, 1464 and 1471).⁷⁴

Some embassies, then, were certainly reserved for the experienced and prestigious individuals. In this sense, there was an informal 'hierarchy' of destinations to which Venetians might be sent as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century. At the

⁶⁹ See Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, pp. 131-52

⁷⁰ For Gritti see SS vol. 20, f. 62v (1455); SS vol. 20, f. 164r-65v (1458); SS vol. 25, f. 80r-84r (1471); for 1464 embassy see SS vol. 22, f. 37r

⁷¹ King, *Venetian Humanism*, 381-83; Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*, p. 127f

⁷² For the details of this mission see chapter 3, pp. 112-23

⁷³ For details of Emo's and Bembo's embassies to Florence, see chapter 6, pp. 219-21

top of this hierarchy was certainly Rome which, as we have seen, was generally regarded as the diplomatic centre of Italy. It was generally a place where only the most experienced ambassadors could expect to serve. At the other end of the scale, certain states were deemed more suitable for the secretary or novice ambassador; these included destinations like Dalmatia, Faenza, Parma.

Yet the importance of a mission seemed to have depended less on its destination itself and more on the content of the mission. Irrespective of their location, some missions were more sensitive or politically important than others and therefore required an experienced ambassador. Furthermore, the importance of particular destinations for Venetian ambassadors varied according to the course of international relations. At one point, for example, Turkey might have felt like a remote backwater for the Venetian ambassador there; with the declaration of new hostilities though, the Turkish ambassador might have been pushed to the forefront of diplomatic affairs. Similarly the status and importance of the Venetian representative sent to Hungary varied according to threat from the Turks at a particular point.⁷⁵

We can also draw some distinction between an *honorary* (and therefore prestigious) mission and a *diplomatically important* one (requiring, for example, careful or detailed negotiations). The former, as we have seen, were missions which required individuals of particular social standing; the prestige of the individual would enhance the honour bestowed upon the recipient. The individual sent on this sort of mission, therefore, did not necessarily have to be diplomatically experienced, rather he should be an important patrician in Venice (probably politically and socially, as the two were closely associated in Venice). Pietro Mocenigo, for instance, was sent as ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Paul II when he had no previous diplomatic experience. He was a member of one of the most important families in Venice; indeed both he and his brother served as Doges of Venice in

⁷⁴ See note 71 above.

the 1470s.⁷⁶ The men who were sent on politically and diplomatically important missions, however, did need to have considerable experience of diplomatic embassies; this experience might be essential in pursuing a difficult diplomatic commission. Therefore, Bernardo Giustiniani had acquired considerable diplomatic experience before being sent to rescue Filippo Correr's mission to Naples in 1470. He had been ambassador to the Emperor, ambassador to Rome (three times), as well as serving on missions to Hungary, Naples and France.⁷⁷

Ambassadors and missions: the distribution of diplomatic office

The pattern of Venetian diplomatic representation was therefore complex. Missions could be short in duration or last a number of years, could be resident or special, and could be sent for a variety of purposes. The relative importance of particular destinations was far from clear-cut, depending on the political situation at the time rather than simply geographical location. Men with previous diplomatic experience might be elected to particularly testing posts while honorary missions were reserved for those who were men of prestige and political importance, with perhaps no previous experience of diplomatic office. How diplomatic office was distributed among these men therefore depended upon their own background and capabilities, as well as the political situation at a given point.

Because we know the number of missions sent between 1454 and 1494 and the number of men who served on them, we can make some statistical analysis of diplomatic office holding in Venice. Figure C in appendix three lists the total number of diplomatic offices held by each individual in the core group during their lifetime (not just between the

⁷⁵ Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 132; see also map 3 (between pp. ix and 1) which demonstrates the proximity of Hungary to the Ottoman empire.

⁷⁶ See Da Mosto, *Vite dei Dogi*, pp. 130-33

years 1454 and 1494). It shows that the average (mean) number of diplomatic posts held by those in the core group was four.⁷⁸

This statistic, however, may only be partially useful. Figure two below indicates the variety in the number of diplomatic posts held by the men in the core group, which an average mean tends to obscure. It shows that just 1 percent of the men in the core group held more than fifteen ambassadorial posts in the course of their lifetime. Just over 10 percent held between ten and fourteen posts. By far the largest number of men (over 70 percent of the core group) held four diplomatic posts or less.

The only individual who served on more than fifteen embassies in his lifetime was Nicolò Da Canal who held at least seventeen diplomatic offices. Da Canal was appointed to a variety of missions, both inside and outside Italy.⁷⁹ He was sent on military/diplomatic embassies to the captain-general, as well as on missions to negotiate conferences (to the Diet of Ratisbon in 1454 for example). He served outside Italy; in Portugal in 1445 and in Turkey on several occasions, as well as acting as honorary orator to the Emperor. Within Italy, he served in every important centre, Milan, Florence, Rome. Another individual who held a large number of diplomatic posts (at least thirteen in his career) was Domenico Trevisan. His career differs from Da Canal's in that he was one of the last generation of the ambassadors in the core group.⁸⁰ He was diplomatically active only from about 1483. He served on missions inside Italy, especially to Rome, where he was an ambassador *in obedientia* on at least two occasions,⁸¹ and also outside the peninsula; he was ambassador to the Emperor in 1486 and was commissioned as envoy to the King of Egypt in 1512.⁸²

⁷⁷ For Giustiniani's diplomatic career see Lablame, *Bernardo Giustiniani*, p. 127f; for Correr's mission to Naples, see chapter 3, pp. 112-13

⁷⁸ Refer back to chapter 1 for problems in source material which might affect the accuracy of the statistics used here and in the following chapters.

⁷⁹ For detailed discussion of his career see chapter 5, p. 169

⁸⁰ He was enrolled in the *Balla D'Oro* in November 1454, Balla, vol 163/3, f. 322v; for comments on the generational structure of the core group see above, p. 49-51

⁸¹ For his commissions see SS vol. 40, f. 105r; vol. 42, f. 24v

⁸² For his commission as ambassador to Egypt see SS, vol. 44, f. 103v-105v; for his commission to the Emperor see SS vol. 33, f. 29r-v.

Figure 2: The total number of diplomatic posts held by Venetian ambassadors in the core group

GROUP	NO. OF POSTS	NO. OF AMBASSADORS	PERCENTAGE %*
A	15 or more	1	1
B	10-14	14	10
C	5-9	23	17
D	four or less	97	72

Figure 3: Number of diplomatic posts held by Venetian ambassadors between 1454 and 1494

GROUP	NO. OF POSTS	NO. OF AMBASSADORS	PERCENTAGE %*
A	10 or more	6	4
B	5-9	15	11
C	4 or less	114	84

*percentage of total number of ambassadors serving between 1454 and 1494 (135 in all)

Figure 4: The proportion of diplomatic posts held 1454-94

GROUP (A-C as defined in fig. 3)	NUMBER OF OFFICES HELD	PERCENTAGE %**
A (10+ posts)	68	18
B (5-9 posts)	122	32
C (4- posts)	192	50

** percentage of the total number of offices held between 1454 and 1494 (382 in all)

Figure three indicates how the three hundred and eight-two diplomatic posts which were held between and including the years 1454 and 1494 were dispersed amongst the core group.⁸³ As we can see, it was most common for individuals to serve on just one or two missions between 1454 and 1494; over 80 percent of the core group held four offices or less between those years. It was rare for an individual to serve on ten or more diplomatic embassies in this period (just 4 percent of the core group held ten or more offices). Over a tenth of the core group served on between five and nine diplomatic missions.

Therefore, we can sub-divide the core group according to the number of offices they held in this period (groups A-C in figure 3). The question is, then, what proportion of

diplomatic offices in this period was held by these three sub-groups? This is shown figure four. It indicates that the 4 percent of the core group who held ten or more offices between 1454 and 1494 served on 18 percent of the total number of embassies sent between 1454 and 1494. The 11 percent who served on between five and nine missions held 32 percent of the diplomatic offices in this period. The 84 percent who held between one and four diplomatic posts held just half of the total number of diplomatic offices in Venice.

Therefore, the men who served on ten legations or more between 1454 and 1494 were in the minority. However, between them, these men held a disproportionate number of diplomatic offices (disproportionate, that is, to their numbers); nearly a fifth of the diplomatic posts in the second half of the fifteenth century were held by this group of men. Furthermore, those individuals serving on five or more diplomatic posts in these years held around one half of the total number of embassies sent in these years; that is, 15 percent of the total number of ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century held between them 50 percent of the total number of diplomatic posts.

It seems, then, that diplomatic office was dominated numerically by a comparatively small group of men, who between them, served on the lion's share of diplomatic embassies. These individuals (who were appointed to a large number of legations in the course of their lifetimes) also (not surprisingly) tended to be diplomatically active for a considerable number of years. Figure five below indicates the approximate number of years when the men in the core group were diplomatically active. This has been calculated by taking the date of the beginning of an individual's first embassy and the date of the end of their last.⁸³ It should be noted that Venetians did not tend to hold a series of

⁸³ See also figure D in appendix three (pp. 399-401) which lists the total number of diplomatic posts held by each individual in the core group between 1454 and 1494.

⁸⁴ The dates of every ambassadors' first and last embassies, and the number of years between the two is shown in Figure H in appendix three, pp. 403-06.

diplomatic posts one after another for the duration of their career; they intermingled political office in Venice and the *terraferma* with holding diplomatic office abroad.⁸⁵

Figure five does show however, that most of the men in the core group were diplomatically active for less than four years. In fact, most of the men in Group G actually only held one diplomatic post in the course of their careers, lasting just one or two years, which is the reason for such a large percentage of the core group falling into this category.⁸⁶ 37 percent of the core group (groups F, E and D) were diplomatically active for between five and nineteen years. This group includes the likes of Pietro Diedo, who served on some five missions in a career which lasted from 1478 until 1490 (when Diedo died on a mission to Cairo)⁸⁷ and Marcantonio Morosini who was appointed to five legations inside and out of Italy between 1474 and 1496.⁸⁸ Finally, there were four men who were diplomatically active for three decades; Marco Dandolo, Sebastiano Badoer, Bernardo Bembo and Nicolò Michiel. All held ten or more diplomatic posts in the course of their entire careers (see figure two above and figure C in appendix three).⁸⁹

Figure 5: Approximate lengths of diplomatic activity of Venetian ambassadors

GROUP	RANGE OF YEARS	NO. OF AMBASSADORS	PERCENTAGE %*
A	over 30	4	3
B	25-30	11	8
C	20-24	12	9
D	15-19	11	8
E	10-14	22	16
F	5-9	18	13
G	4 or under	57	42

* percentage of total number of ambassadors in the core group (one hundred and thirty-five)

⁸⁵ See Chapter 5

⁸⁶ Or at least, I have only located one mission on which they served. Do note that the problem of homonyms has made it impossible to attribute certain offices to particular ambassadors, see, for example, the profiles of Antonio Venier and Giovanni Vendramin in appendix one- it is likely that both held more than one office, but lack of father's name has made identification impossible. Also see chapter 1, pp. 37-38

⁸⁷ For Diedo's career see *DBI* vol. 39, pp. 778-81

⁸⁸ King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 410-11

⁸⁹ For figure C, see pp. 396-99

These statistics show that while the majority of men served on just one or two legations over a period of two or three years at most, they did not control between them a proportionally large percentage of the diplomatic missions in the second half of the fifteenth century. Indeed, a larger portion of these missions were in the hands of a minority; those men who were appointed to in excess of five diplomatic posts in their life-time, over a period of perhaps a decade, between them served on a disproportionate fraction of the missions between 1454 and 1494.

In the first part of this chapter, I argued that the varied backgrounds and non-diplomatic experiences of the men in the core group repudiate the concept of a 'diplomatic elite'; these men were not a homogeneous whole, but were drawn from a variety of intellectual, political, cultural, economic 'elite' groups. The second part of the chapter has shown, however, that within the core group of Venetian ambassadors (which comprises 'elites' from many other sectors) there was a small group of men who were able to dominate diplomatic office. These men were those who held five or more diplomatic posts between 1454 and 1494. They served on one hundred and ninety missions in the period; the remaining one hundred and fourteen men in the core group only served on one hundred and ninety-two missions between them. Within this group of twenty-one men were fifteen who served on ten or more diplomatic missions in the course of their entire careers (including the years before 1454 and after 1494). These men, then, whatever their backgrounds, could be called a 'professional elite'; they reached the highest level in the field of diplomatic activity. Chapters four and five show that this group of men may not have only been a 'diplomatic elite'; many of these individuals also reached the highest levels in Venetian society in a number of other spheres- intellectual, political, financial.

CHAPTER THREE

THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR ABROAD: MYTHS, THEORIES, REALITIES

The Venetian ambassador has an important place in the mythology of the Venetian republic. He was drawn from the patrician class which, according to the myth, was harmoniously united and dedicated in its wish to act as the servant of the state. He was sent abroad as a representative of Venice; indeed he presented the face of the Republic and through his actions the state itself was judged. How the ambassador *should* behave, then, was not surprisingly a major preoccupation: not only was much Venetian legislation dedicated to this subject, but several treatises were written which advised how the ambassador should conduct himself. As a result, throughout the various stages of an embassy; from the election and commission of the envoy through to his departure and arrival back in Venice, the ambassador was able to draw upon guidance from these various sources. How, though, does the reality of the Venetian ambassador's experience reflect with that which what mythology and theory prescribed for him?

I suggest that the relationship between diplomatic theory and practice was not constant. In administrative matters, elections, commissions, payment (which were governed by legislation), practice was comparatively close to the prescribed. At the very least, laws were *intended* to govern such routine issues. In more general matters of behaviour and attitude (issues about which ambassadors might seek advice through normative treatises) the gap was far wider. Theory and reality diverged when the character of the individual was called into question. The myth makes general statements about the perfection of the patrician class as a whole; in reality, the politicians and diplomats of Venice were individuals, who acted according to their own characters and experiences within a prescribed set of rules and guidelines. The true success of the Venetian political and diplomatic system lay not in its reliance on a mythological 'perfect' class of nobles to fill

its offices, but on a flexible political (and indeed diplomatic) system which was able to embrace a group of individuals with diverse attitudes, beliefs and characteristics.

We have established that Venetians were sent on many hundreds of embassies between 1454 and 1494, which varied considerably in length and purpose; resident versus special, long-term versus stop-over, inside and outside Italy. However, we can also say that most missions went through a number of stages, from the decision to send an embassy to the *relazioni* delivered at the conclusion of the mission. The first part of this chapter focuses on these stages. First it looks at the practicalities of serving on a mission (elections of ambassadors, commissions, entourages). It compares the way a mission was meant to operate in theory (by looking at legislation and, to a lesser extent, normative treatises) with what appeared to happen in practice (using my own research on fifteenth-century Venice). The second part of the chapter considers the diplomatic duties and the behaviour of the Venetian ambassador in the light of the historiographical debate over the myth of Venice.

PART A: THE ORGANISATION OF A VENETIAN MISSION

The primary sources I have used for this part of the chapter have been diverse. Major archival sources include the few remaining Venetian dispatches and other miscellaneous diplomatic archives in the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*.¹ *Senato Secreta* (as the most consistent diplomatic source for Venice in this period) was used extensively.² I

¹ The principal surviving dispatches are- Marciana, It VII Cod. 1196 (8884), Francesco Contarini: Registro delle lettere scritte al Senato quando era ambasciatore a Siena 1454-55; Marciana, It VII Cod. 39 (8170) Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro, Ambasciatori Veneto a Napoli, 1471-73; British Library, Add. MS 48, 067 (Yelverton LXXIII), Letter book of Girolamo Giorgio, ambassador to France 1485; Marciana, It VII Cod. 1944 (9608), Zaccaria Contarini and Girolamo Lion: Registro delle lettere scritte al Senato nel tempo della loro ambasciata a Massimiliano 1493-94; Marciana, It VII Cod. 547 (8529) Dispacci alla Signoria di Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan 1494-95, ambasciatori a Ludovico Sforza; Rossi, *Ambasciata Straordinaria al Sultano D'Egitto*; note that many other dispatches were reproduced in SS and Sanuto, *Diarii*; other miscellaneous collections include ASV, Senato, Lettere di Rettori ed Altre Cariche, b. 2 secolo XV-XVI; ASV Senato Secreta, Dispacci, Constantinopoli, F.1A; ASV, Ducali ed Atti Diplomatici, b. XX

² ASV, SS, reg 15-44

also referred to the diplomatic archives of Mantua, Modena, Florence and Milan. By using these archives I was able to bridge the gap in Venetian diplomatic sources; the diplomatic archives of each of these states (especially Milan) are extensive for the fifteenth century. In all of these archives, I used the dispatches of the ambassadors of each state who were sent to Venice; this allowed me to gather information and opinion concerning the appointment of Venetian ambassadors.³ I then consulted a variety of other sources in these state archives in order to collect more information about the behaviour of the Venetian ambassadors abroad and attitudes towards them.⁴

Together with these primary sources, I have also consulted secondary material; indeed I make use of secondary and printed primary sources more here than any other chapter in this study.⁵ Furthermore my assumptions are based predominantly upon qualitative rather than quantitative research. The prosopographical database is used in this chapter as useful background; it does not form the basis of the discussion which follows. The reason why secondary and printed primary sources have been used more extensively in this chapter is because the primary source material outlined above is inconsistent in providing the sorts of information that I have been looking for. Because of the lack of ambassadorial dispatches for Venice, we do not have a consistent picture of the way Venice was diplomatically represented in the second half of the fifteenth century. By their very nature, the archives of Mantua, Modena, Florence and Milan only refer to Venetians and Venetian diplomats occasionally, on an *ad hoc* basis; those ambassadors who wrote

³ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 340-384; ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, Estera, Venezia, EXLV 3 buste 1431-1435; ASMo, Carteggio Ambasciatori, Venezia, buste 1-10

⁴ Including ASF, Signori, X di Balia, Otto di Pratica, Legazioni e Commissarie, Missive e Responsive, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16-23, 24, 27-19, 63, 75; Signori, Risposte Verbali di Oratori Forestieri, cart. 1-2; Otto di Pratica, Responsive, cart. 1-5, 9; Signori, Responsive Originali, F. 8; Dieci di Balia, Responsive, F. 21, 23, 24; ASMi, Sforzesco, Roma, cart. 41-42, 101-111, 55-56, 87-94, Napoli, cart. 196, 198-201, 218, 220, 227, 243-44, 250-51; ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, Ordinario Miste, F II 9, b. 2896 (libro 96) and b. 2900 (libro 14); Archivio Gonzaga P XXI, b. 3351; Archivio Gonzaga, Milano E XLIX 3 (b. 1628, 1626, 1624, 1630, 1625, 1627, 1623, 1629); ASMo, Modena, Carteggio Ambasciatori, Roma b. 1-7, Milano b. 4-8

these dispatches back to their state were under no compulsion to regularly write about Venetian ambassadors. References to Venetians in these archives, then, is fragmentary and even random, but also often valuable and revealing.

A further way I have considered the practice of Venetian diplomacy in this chapter with the use of secondary and printed primary sources is through prescriptive literature; material which indicated how the ambassador *should* behave and act. The most obvious source of this type is Venetian legislation concerning diplomatic behaviour and ambassadors. Donald Queller, in particular, has written extensively on this subject (see his *Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors*, Geneva 1966, and *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 1967). The normative viewpoint can also be elicited from contemporary treatises which advise on the way an ambassador should act. There are two which are most relevant for this study are Bernard du Rosier's treatise on diplomacy written in the first half of the fifteenth century and Ermolao Barbaro's *De Officio Legati* written towards the end of the fifteenth century, when Barbaro was ambassador to Rome.⁶

As Bernard du Rosier's treatise was French and written in the first half of the fifteenth century, it obviously has restricted use for a study of later fifteenth-century Venetian ambassadors. Ermolao Barbaro's essay, on the other hand, was written by a Venetian in the second half of the fifteenth century. According to Mattingly, it is also the first work on diplomacy which mentions resident ambassadors (it is towards this sort of

⁵ The sorts of secondary sources I have used in include *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* and Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane*; printed primary sources include Lorenzo, *Lettere* and Corazzol, *Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro*.

⁶ See Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, chapter III, 'Diplomatic practice'. Here Mattingly summarises Bernard du Rosier's treatise on diplomacy written in the first half of the fifteenth century. Chapter XI, which is entitled 'The duties of the resident ambassador', includes a summary of *De Officio Legati*'; for the latter see also M. L. Doglio, 'Ambasciatore e principe. L'Institutio legati di Ermolao Barbaro', *Miscellanea di Studi in Onore di Vittore Branca*, vol. 3, tomo 1, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia* (Firenze 1983), pp. 297-310. A printed version of *De Officio Legati* appears in V. Branca (ed.), *De Coelibatu: De Officio Legati* (Firenze 1969)- for the text of the treatise, see pp.159-167 (hereafter referred to as *De Officio*

diplomat, rather than the 'special' ambassador that the essay is directed). It is also the first treatise to abandon medieval precepts concerning the practice of diplomacy and articulate the idea that the ambassador was a servant of the state.⁷ Rather than providing specific advice for ambassadors, it tries to give more general guidance.⁸ It aims at creating a vision of a 'perfect' diplomat, one who was moderate in his behaviour and obedient to the state. The ambassador should be good-natured and show his prudence and humanity.⁹ He had to be above reproach; in Barbaro's words, the 'eyes and hands' of the ambassador should be as pure as the priest celebrating his divine office at the altar.¹⁰

Of course, the use of these sorts of treatises for this study is somewhat limited. It is probable that neither of these treatises directly affected the behaviour of Venetian ambassadors; indeed we have no evidence that any individual in my core group even read either book (although it is likely that Barbaro had read du Rosier's treatise).¹¹ The worth of these works, then, is not then what they can tell us about Venetian diplomacy, but rather what they reveal about perceptions of the ambassador, and ideas concerning 'good' and 'bad' diplomatic conduct.

Queller's work deals with a very different type of source. The legislation he has investigated tells us about the organisational side of a mission; the election, commission, costs. It is fair to say that legislation had a more direct relationship with the practice of Venetian diplomacy than a theoretical treatise might. Queller has argued, quite rightly, that

Legati); for discussion of other treatises see Behrens, 'Treatises on the ambassador written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries'.

⁷ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp. 94-95; see also King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 202-04;

⁸ For differing interpretations of *De Officio Legati* see King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 203-04; V. Branca 'Ermolao Barbaro e l'umanesimo veneziano' in V. Branca, *Umanesimo Europeo e Umanesimo Veneziano* (Firenze 1963), p. 207; Doglio, 'Ambasciatore e principe'

⁹ *De Officio Legati*, pp. 162-63; note that many of Barbaro's ideas coincide with Castiglione's, who had been papal nuncio to Charles V in 1525-27, see B., Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (translated and introduction by G. Bull, London 1976) For example, see p. 114, 'Thus in everything he does our courtier must be cautious, and he must always speak and act with prudence.'

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 166- 'Ergo legatorum et magistratum abstinere esse debent et manus et oculi, perinde atque sacerdotum quoties ad aram stant et in divinis operantur'.

¹¹ Although see Doglio, 'Ambasciatore e principe', p. 298 for the possible circulation of Barbaro's treatise.

some legislation was drawn up as a response to problems and deficiencies in Venetian diplomatic practice. I would suggest, however, that the relationship between diplomatic legislation and diplomatic reality was a good deal more complex than Queller has suggested. A law directed against ambassadorial expenditure, for example, might not necessarily infer that high expenditure was rife among Venetian ambassadors, or even that it was common. The reasons for drawing up such a law might have been numerous. It might be a response, for example, to the exorbitant spending of one ambassador, an isolated case, or to longer-term financial issues. Certainly we cannot assume that a law directed towards an ambassadorial abuse was evidence that this abuse was widespread.

Election and commission

Ambassadorial posts were elective positions; a number of candidates were nominated and these nominations were then voted upon. Venetian legislation indicates that, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, ambassadorial elections could take place in a number of different venues in Venice; by the end of the fifteenth century, however, Queller, has suggested many were elected in the Senate, something corroborated by Giuseppe Maranini's study of the constitution of Venice.¹² Once it had been established that an ambassador should be sent, Venetian legislation stated that the instructions or commission for the embassy should be drawn up; according to legislation in the Great Council of 1302 and 1306, the ambassador would be elected after the commission was drawn up.¹³

¹² Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p.149; D. E. Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors* (Geneva 1966), p. 39; G. Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia Copo la Serrata del Maggior Consiglio*, vol.2 (Venezia 1931) p. 196-97 notes that the Senate elected ambassadors to Rome, France, Spain, Austria, England, Savoy and residents in Milan, Mantua, Naples, Florence Switzerland, Aleppo, Cairo and other 'ambasciatori, oratori e nunzi straordinari'; he also notes that ambassadors and *provveditori* were some of the few posts that the Senate continued to elect in the fifteenth century.

¹³ Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors*, p.14

In practice, it was common for a commission to be drawn up prior to the election of the ambassador in the second half of the fifteenth century. Senate papers show that individuals were first elected to ambassadorial posts; their commissions would then be drawn up at a later stage (sometimes days later and occasionally not for several weeks). The name of the candidates to be elected were posted in the Senate (or other relevant council) and were then voted upon. If an individual was elected as ambassador and agreed to accept the post, the commission was drawn up, usually in the same council in which he had been elected. The commission stated the identity of the ambassador and his destination, the expected departure date, and the purpose of the mission. Often the commission mentioned individuals whom the ambassador should meet while on his journey or at his final destination. If a secretary was to be sent with the ambassador, he might also be named officially in the commission.

In my research of Venetian state records of the fifteenth century, I have found more elections to ambassadorial posts noted in the Senate than anywhere else by the mid-fifteenth century. Most discussion of diplomatic matters was held here and so it would have been the natural place to hold ambassadorial elections and note diplomatic commissions. We have seen that there were nearly four hundred separate missions sent in the second half of the fifteenth century from Venice; we can ascertain that over a quarter of these were elected and commissioned in the Senate.¹⁴

I have located a sprinkling of diplomatic elections and commissions in other Venetian government sources. Very few elections took place in the *Maggior Consiglio*: I have found just ten diplomatic elections there between 1454 and 1494. Elections of ambassadors were usually mentioned when the individual in question had been elected to another post simultaneously.¹⁵ Some ambassadorial elections and commissions were

¹⁴ Diplomatic commissions are noted towards the end of the biographical profiles of core group ambassadors, found in appendix 1, pp. 236-376

¹⁵ ASV, *Maggior Consiglio*, *Deliberazioni*, vol. 23 (1455-79), see for example f. 87v, where on 23 July 1469, Filippo Correr was elected *podestà* of Brescia and ambassador to Naples.

recorded in the extant *Collegio* archive. The *Collegio* might have performed a dual role as far as diplomatic matters were concerned. First, it probably had an informal role in preparing nominations or commissions for discussion in the Senate. In other words, it may not have discussed ambassadors directly, but may have filtered information to be presented to the Senate, and decided when material should be passed over to it. Second, it is possible that the *Collegio* actually took executive decisions itself. Although we have little evidence (because of the lack of surviving *Collegio* material) it is likely that the *Collegio* was expanding this latter role in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The series *Collegio, Notatorio* in *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* contains few references to ambassadors and no commissions. The archive *Collegio, Commissioni*, however, is more promising: unfortunately only one *busta* and one *registro* survive for the period 1454-94.¹⁶ A great deal of this *busta* is damaged and much of it is illegible. The *registro*, on the other hand, does provide evidence that the *Collegio* was concerned with diplomacy in this period. There was some discussion of diplomatic matters, and the elections of *provveditori* and diplomatic secretaries were often recorded. Four diplomatic commissions were recorded here; an embassy in 1482 of Sebastiano Badoer and Antonio Vettori to the captain general,¹⁷ a mission of Giorgio Emo in 1483,¹⁸ the 1491 embassy of Zaccaria Contarini and Francesco Capello to Ferrara,¹⁹ and another diplomatic mission to Ferrara in 1493.²⁰

Like the *Collegio*, there is a general consensus that the Council of Ten was increasing its influence over in foreign affairs from the 1480s, and certainly in the sixteenth century.²¹ We might then expect to find in the records of the Council of Ten more input

¹⁶ ASV, *Collegio, (commissioni)*, b. 1A 1473-79, reg. 1482-95.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, reg. 1482-95, f. 21v-22r

¹⁸ *ibid.*, f. 40r-v

¹⁹ *ibid.*, f. 149r-v

²⁰ *ibid.*, f. 179r-180r

²¹ For the extension of the authority of the Council of Ten during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see R. Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (London 1980), pp. 182-96; G.Rösch, *Der Venezianische Adel Bis Zur Schliessung Des Grosse Rats. Sur Genese Einer Führungsschicht*

into diplomatic matters towards the last two decades of the fifteenth century (perhaps taking some of the responsibility away from the Senate). Early volumes of *Consiglio dei Dieci, Miste* (before 1445) show comparatively little interest in diplomatic affairs. We should note, however, that like the *Collegio*, the Ten's involvement in diplomacy, particularly in the earlier fifteenth century, may well have been quite indirect, such as preparing material for discussions in other councils: this would account for the few references to ambassadors. Volumes thirteen to nineteen of *Consiglio dei Dieci, Miste* (1445-1480), however, do have some references to diplomats (more so than in the earlier volumes); even so, there are still comparatively few references before 1460. After this date, however, every *registro* has a handful of references to diplomatic embassies.

There is no significant change in this pattern in the Council of Ten registers between 1460 and the late 1470s. In volume twenty, there is an addition to a commission for Zaccaria Barbaro's mission to Rome in 1480,²² but there are few other comments about ambassadors; most discussion seems to focus on the election of *provveditori*. *Registro* twenty-one, which corresponds to the years 1482-83, has even fewer references to ambassadors and diplomatic embassies, and does not record any commissions. Over the next few volumes (twenty-two to twenty-nine- 1484-1503) we see more references to *provveditori* and the election of posts on the *terraferma*. In the 1490s there is a small increase in the amount of discussion over diplomatic missions and personnel; this discussion appears to dwindle towards the end of the century.²³ In summary, then, there is an increase in interest in diplomatic matters in the Council of Ten between about 1460 and

(Sigmaringen 1989); G. Cozzi, *Repubblica di Venezia e Stati Italiani. Politica Giustizia dal Secolo XVI al Secolo XVIII* (Torino 1982), pp. 81-174; M. Lowry, 'The reform of the Council of Ten, 1582-83. An unsettled problem?', *Studi Veneziani*, vol. 13 (1971) pp. 295-310, especially pp. 280-81; Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia*, pp. 214-15, 412-14- notes the encroachment of the Ten and the *Collegio* on the authority of the Senate.

²² CXMiste, reg. 20 (1480-82), f. 39r

²³ *ibid.*, reg. 24 (1488-89)- there are just references to three ambassadors in this entire volume, Domenico Trevisan (for example f. 94r), Domenico Bollani (f. 154r), Ermolao Barbaro (f. 194r). Reg. 25 (1491-92) has some references to ambassadors in Rome. In reg. 27 (1495-98) there is

the mid-1480s. After this, interest appears to tail off somewhat, with more time devoted to discussion of *provveditori* and posts on the *terraferma*. Attention to diplomacy picks up again in the 1490s but again dwindles towards 1500. However, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and especially after Agnadello, the role of the Ten and their involvement in diplomacy and foreign policy grew considerably.²⁴

It is, therefore, difficult to establish where most ambassadorial commissions were noted in the second half of the fifteenth century. A quarter, as stated above, were located in the Senate. It is possible that some other embassies in this period were sent with less formal instructions, which might not even be easily identifiable as 'commissions'. We have ascertained that diplomatic commissions were not noted in the Council of Ten, although they may have had a more informal role in preparing and editing material for elections, commissions and other matters for discussion. I would suggest that it is likely that many commissions (perhaps even most) would have been drawn up in the *Collegio*; once drawn up, some copies they might then have been presented in the Senate (as the main forum of diplomatic discussion).

The entourage

The size and formation of the ambassadorial retinue was a major preoccupation for Venetian legislators. Much of the legislation concerned with restricting expenditure was also directed towards limiting the size of the retinue of the ambassador.²⁵ An act of 1477 decreed that an ambassador could not take with him more than eight horses and servants, and that the size of any retinue should be registered before leaving Venice. Legislation before and after this stipulated that any ambassador who added to the entourage prescribed

some discussion of ambassadors- see for example f. 48v, f. 57r, f. 70v, f. 152v, f. 171r. The only references in reg. 29 (1501-03) are to Sebastiano Giustiniani and Giovanni Badoer (f. 77r, f. 78v)

²⁴ For works which consider the extension of the power of the Ten in the sixteenth century see the references in note 21 above.

by the state did so at his own expense; no moneys would be paid to support a larger retinue.²⁶ Garrett Mattingly has suggested that the usual size of entourage to take on a mission was somewhere around ten or twelve men and six horses. Those in the entourage were technically the ambassador's employees and responsible only to him.²⁷ An act of 1483 ordered that the number of horses allowed on a retinue should be raised from eight to twelve, although by an act of 1499 it was lowered again to eleven horses. Any embassies which were sent to congratulate a new Pope on his accession were regarded as an exception, and could involve much larger entourages for reasons of prestige.²⁸

Certainly, in practice, the size of a Venetian ambassador's entourage was dictated by the occasion. The best evidence we have for the size of Venetian retinues comes from foreign observers, and particularly from the ambassadors of Milan, Modena, Florence and Mantua who were sent to Venice. Unfortunately (although hardly surprisingly) these men tended to only comment upon those entourages which drew the most attention, those which were large and ostentatious (and therefore probably not representative of 'typical' retinues). For this reason, we have few references to entourages that were of the sort of size Mattingly noted as normal (about twelve men).

It was the Venetian entourages to Rome (and especially the ambassadors *in obedientia*) that attracted the particular interest of foreign observers. In 1471, for instance, the Milanese ambassador in Venice noted that an embassy to honour the elevation of Sixtus IV to the papacy, manned by Andrea Lion, Triadano Gritti, Andrea Vendramin and Nicolò Soranzo, took with them one hundred and twenty horses.²⁹ On another embassy *in obedientia* in 1485 (this time to Pope Innocent VIII) Ludovico Bragadin, Ludovico Diedo, Bernardo Bembo and Antonio Loredan were noted as having an entourage which included

²⁵ For a discussion of the costs and financing of a diplomatic embassy see chapter 4, pp. 145-52

²⁶ Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation*, p. 21-22

²⁷ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p.90

²⁸ Queller, *Early Venetian legislation*, p. 25

²⁹ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 357, 7 Sept. 1471

one hundred horses.³⁰ Taddeo Vimercati, the Milanese ambassador to Venice, wrote to the Duke of Milan in 1492 that the Venetian embassy to honour the elevation of Pope Alessandro VI had left with seventy or eighty horses.³¹ Other missions to different locations also demanded equally large entourages; Bernardo Giustiniani in 1458 left Rome for Naples with sixty horses and twelve carriages loaded with clothes.³² In 1490, the Milanese ambassador in Venice wrote to the Duke of Milan that Francesco Capello and Zaccaria Contarini had taken with them '*cento cavalli*' and a large number of gentlemen on their embassy to celebrate the wedding of the Duke of Ferrara.³³

In practice, the composition of the entourage varied according to the purpose and destination of the mission. Typically an ambassador was expected to take his own servants (including cooks, groom and ushers) and horses.³⁴ A secretary might also travel with the entourage, and would be responsible for many of the administrative duties of the embassy.³⁵ Ambassadors might also take members of their family with them on missions, especially sons who would serve as 'apprentices'.³⁶ Queller has noted that Venice discouraged wives from coming on embassies with their husbands and even legislated against it on the grounds of economy, the need for secrecy, and the possibility that hardships might have to be faced on the journey.³⁷ Also travelling with the ambassador (although not strictly part of the entourage) might be other Venetian diplomats on their way to other destinations in Italy and farther afield.³⁸

³⁰ ASF, Otto di Pratica, Responsive, cart. 9, 170r

³¹ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 379, 12 Sept. 1492- for biographical details of Taddeo, see Cerioni, *La diplomazia Sforzesca*, p. 251

³² Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*, pp. 143-153

³³ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 377, 28 Jan. 1491

³⁴ J.C. Davis, *Pursuit of Power. Venetian Ambassadors Reports on Spain, Turkey and France in the Age of Philip II, 1560-1600*, p. 7; Mattingly, *Renaissance diplomacy*, p. 90; see also Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p. 187-98

³⁵ See chapter 2, pp. 52-58, for a discussion of the appointment and role of the secretary.

³⁶ Davis, *Pursuit of Power*, p.8; see chapter 4 for more discussion of this, pp. 144-45

³⁷ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p.187

³⁸ We have many examples of this; Andrea Capello in 1471 for example travelled to Rome with Niccolo Michiel, who was on his way to serve as Venetian ambassador in Naples- see *DBI vol. 18*, pp. 739.

Venice clearly did send large entourages with their ambassadors if the occasion demanded it, despite the legislation directed to limit the size of retinues. Queller has suggested that the greater the size of the retinue, the higher the honour bestowed on the recipient and impression of wealth and power of the principal.³⁹ It is significant that every mention of a large entourage which I located in primary material was sent with a mission that was honorary or congratulatory in purpose. As we shall see, the men sent on these congratulatory missions were generally of a particularly high political and social status.⁴⁰ Certainly then the ambassador and the size of the retinue was crucial in conferring honour and prestige upon the Venetian state and upon those receiving the mission; the fact that foreigners so often report the large sizes of Venetian retinues reflects this.⁴¹

Journeys, arrivals, departures

According to Bernard du Rosier's treatise, it was critical that an ambassador leave his own state with pomp and ceremony. This departure ceremony of the embassy would announce to Venetians, neighbouring states, and foreign observers in Venice that the embassy was on its way (especially as the state receiving the ambassador may not have given prior acceptance to his presence).⁴² It was common for well-wishers to follow an embassy for some distance; in the case of Venice, where a departure by water was essential, barges would accompany the retinue for the first few miles.⁴³

³⁹ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p.105

⁴⁰ See chapter 5 for more discussion of this, pp. 181-83

⁴¹ See Behrens, 'Treatises on the ambassador', p.620. Behrens argues that the authors of fifteenth and sixteenth century tracts were concerned with the fact that the personal status, equipment and dress of the ambassador should reflect the importance of the employer and the mission.

⁴² Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 32

⁴³ These groups of well-wishers should not be confused with the actual retinue of the ambassador which would accompany the ambassador to his final destination.

Indeed both the departure and arrival of ambassadors were often great ceremonial occasions.⁴⁴ For Venice, pageantry and politics were profoundly inter-linked, 'Pageantry was not an independent activity but one rooted in the great cycle of rituals conducted by the government.'⁴⁵ Those ceremonies associated with the arrival and departures of diplomats were staged not only to reflect the status of the ambassador and his state, but also the supremacy of Venice. Furthermore, as Edward Muir has suggested, pageantry was one means of formalising the charged and complex relations that often existed between states.⁴⁶

Bernard du Rosier also emphasised the dangers of delaying the departure of an embassy after the ambassador had been elected; the diplomat should set out promptly to his destination.⁴⁷ In practice, however, the length of time between the election of the Venetian ambassador and the time of his departure for a mission could vary considerably. Some missions, especially if they were sent to fulfil a particular (and perhaps urgent mission) would leave immediately. On other occasions there could be a significant wait between the election and departure of an ambassador.⁴⁸ Delays, occasionally, however, could be beyond the control of the ambassador. In 1454, for example, the Senate decided to send Nicolò Da Canal and Zaccaria Contarini to the Diet of Ratisbon. There appears to have been a delay in the writing of the instructions and the two ambassadors were not able to leave until well after the intended departure date. Whether this was purely the result of a bureaucratic blunder or a more deliberate policy, we do not know. They had only reached Innsbruck

⁴⁴ For the importance of pageantry in Venice see P. Fortini Brown, 'Measured Friendship, Calculated Pomp: The Ceremonial Welcomes of the Venetian Republic', in B. Wisch and S. Munshower, *All the World's a Stage....Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (1990), pp. 136-86; E. Muir, 'Images of Power: Art and Pageantry in Renaissance Venice', *American Historical Review*, 84 (1979); E. Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton 1981)

⁴⁵ Muir, 'Images of Power', p. 37

⁴⁶ Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 233-235; on the question of 'diplomatic' ceremonial see also Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p. 208 and Mallett, 'Ambassadors and their audiences', p. 242; for comparison with Florence, see R. C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York 1980), pp. 280-97 and R. C. Trexler (ed.), *The Libro Ceremoniale of the Florentine Republic*, by Francesco Filarete and Angelo Manfidi (Geneva 1978)

⁴⁷ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p 31

when they heard that the Emperor had dissolved the Diet. They were ordered by Venice instead to proceed directly to the Emperor in person and communicate to him the position of the Venetian government.⁴⁹

The journey of the embassy to its final destination might be long and hazardous. Bernard du Rosier advised at this point that the journey should not be undertaken with 'undignified haste', although again he stressed that ambassadors should also take pains not to delay unnecessarily.⁵⁰ As a point of reference it is worth considering that a trip from Venice to France in the sixteenth century would probably take about two weeks.⁵¹ A journey to Persia, then, could run into months and even years.⁵² Perhaps partly for this reason, it appears to have been extremely common for the commission of an ambassador to include a list of places where he should stop off en route to his destination. For example, ambassadors to Rome (especially those sent as residents) were almost routinely instructed to stop in Ferrara, Bologna, Florence and Siena in their commissions. Often they were given further instructions as to who they should see and what they should discuss at each location. Not only would this give the ambassador and his entourage a break in their journey, but it allowed them to relay messages of goodwill from the Republic to neighbouring governments. For example, Leonardo Botta (Milanese ambassador in Venice) reported to the Duke of Milan in 1480 that Zaccaria Barbaro was travelling to an embassy in Rome by way of Ferrara in order to see the Duke there.⁵³ Antonio Donato was ordered to stop over in Florence on his way back from Rome.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ This was one reason why election dates of ambassadors can be a little misleading- see my discussion of this in chapter 1, pp. 35-36, 38-39.

⁴⁹ *DBI* vol. 17, pp. 662-68

⁵⁰ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 32

⁵¹ Davis, *Pursuit of Power*, p. 7

⁵² For Giosafat Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini's mission to the East, and a full description of a long journey to an embassy, see *Travels to Tana and Persia. A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia, in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Hakluyt Society, 1st series, no. 49, 1873)

⁵³ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 370, 25 May 1480, 29 May 1480

⁵⁴ Lorenzo, *Lettere* vol. 2, p.12

Similarly, ambassadors appear to have frequently stopped on the return journeys from their embassies. These stops were rarely noted in the original commission, but might have been ordered in the instructions that the Senate sent to their ambassador while abroad. Gian Stephano Castiglione, the Milanese ambassador in Venice, wrote to the Duke of Milan in 1490 that Marcantonio Morosini, who had been the Venetian ambassador in Naples, called in Rome on his return and then became ill there and had been forced to remain in the city for a protracted period.⁵⁵ This custom of stopping off en route to a final destination further illustrates the complexity of Venetian diplomatic representation. It emphasises the point that Venetian diplomatic practice cannot be neatly categorised into either special or resident missions. 'Resident' ambassadors might be expected to carry out several 'special' missions en route to their final destination.

The best account we have of the journey of an ambassador and his retinue to its final destination is that of Giorgio Contarini and Paolo Pisani's mission to the Emperor in 1492, written by their secretary Andrea di Franceschi.⁵⁶ The group left Venice on 7 June and reached Padua the same day. They spent the next few nights at Vicenza, Verona and Rovereto, before reaching Trent on 17 June. Over the two weeks they travelled between five and twenty miles a day ('miglia italiana'), staying in villas along the way. They finally reached Linz on 1 July, where they remained until 7 August. They then continued through the Germany, calling at cities along the way, including Salzburg and Munich. Around 18 September they detoured to visit Milan where they stayed for a few nights. From there they stopped in Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza and Padua before arriving back in Venice on around 25 September.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 376, 27 July 1490

⁵⁶ Marciana, It. VII. Cod. (7679) *Miscellanea*, pp.25-105- Andrea de Franceschi, 'Itinerario di Germania degli ambasciatori veneti Giorgio Contarini e Paolo Pisani, all'imperatore Federico III, 1492' (hereafter Franceschi)- note also that this has been published in Simonsfeld, *Miscellanea della R. deputazione Veneta* pp. 227-345- this published version has not been seen by me.

⁵⁷ Franceschi, f. 98-105- at the end of the account, Franceschi gives an outline of the entire trip, showing every place in which they stopped, the date when they arrived and left, and the number of miles to each destination. Also see appendix 4 which is a index of the dispatch of Sebastiano

Franceschi calculated that it was about four hundred and thirty-eight miles ('miglia Italiani') from Venice to Linz and that altogether the entourage travelled about 1296 miles.⁵⁸ Each day they did between ten or fifteen miles, although on some days managed to go as many as twenty miles. They frequently travelled by water; on 27 June, for instance, they boarded a boat to Halle. They travelled by the boat in the daytime, but disembarked in order to sleep, eat, go to mass and meet local dignitaries.⁵⁹ After three days of this, they went by land for a little while and then joined a ship which was sailing up the River Danube.⁶⁰

Once drawing close to the state in which he was serving, the ambassador might warn the host government of his imminent arrival. Giovanni Emo, ambassador to Florence in 1478, wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici from Ponte di Pietro announcing that he would arrive the next day.⁶¹ This forewarning might have been a courtesy; the arrival (or departure) of an ambassador required some preparation, because, as we have seen, it could be a great ceremonial occasion.⁶² Also, governments sometimes wished to delay the arrival of an ambassador for a short period; Bertucio Gabriel for example was informed in 1478 by the Duke that he should delay his entry into Milan so that he would arrive at the same time as the new Florentine ambassador.⁶³

Bernard Du Rosier explains in some detail the entry that the ambassador should make in the state to which he had been sent.⁶⁴ He should be greeted by representatives from the court, who should then escort him to the ruler or monarch of the state. There might be processions and pageants to greet the arrival of the ambassador, and the festivities would

Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan sent from Milan in 1494- this clearly indicates that the ambassadors stopped at Padua, Vicenza, Verona, and Brescia before arriving finally in Milan, and shows the length of time the diplomats spent at each of these destinations.

⁵⁸ Franceschi, f. 97

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, f. 39-43

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, f. 43

⁶¹ Lorenzo, *Lettere*, vol. 3, pp. 5, 20

⁶² See above for a discussion of diplomatic ceremonial, pp. 93-94.

⁶³ Lorenzo, *Lettere*, vol. 3, p. 180

⁶⁴ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 32-35

probably end with a lavish banquet. During his audience with the head of state and his councillors, the ambassador should hand over his credentials. The ambassador may then deliver an oration, stating the purpose of the mission.

In practice, there were often a host of people that the ambassador met with on his arrival. Zaccaria Contarini, for example, stopped in Milan in 1492 en route to his embassy in France. He was met by Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, who was the resident Venetian ambassador in Milan, two councillors, and forty horsemen two miles away from Milan and was taken to the city gates. There he was greeted by the Secret Council and Council of Justice who rode with him to his lodgings, which were in an *osteria*. At the *osteria*, various officials including Bartolomeo Calco, the secretary of state, came to talk with Contarini. He was later taken to Pavia with three councillors to see Ludovico il Moro and the ambassadors of Ferrara, Monferrat and Florence.⁶⁵

Similarly, Patricia Labalme has noted that when Bernardo Giustiniani and Paolo Barbo stopped over in Milan on their way back from another mission in France in 1462, they visited the duke, the duchess and Galeazzo Sforza, and a large number of courtiers.⁶⁶ Giorgio Contarini and Paolo Pisani on their mission to the Emperor in 1492 were met by some sort of welcoming committee in virtually every city in which they stopped and were accompanied by a similar party when they left. En route to Germany, for instance, they stayed in Padua and on their departure were accompanied by the captain, '*molti altri dottori*', gentlemen '*cum trombette*' and about seventy horses. At their arrival in Vicenza the same day, they were met by the *podestà* and many Vicentine citizens.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ For Zaccaria Contarini's arrival, see his *relazioni* which is printed in E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato, serie 1, vol. 4* (Firenze 1860), pp. 4; for a discussion of this *relazioni* see Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p.192-93

⁶⁶ Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*, pp. 157-174

⁶⁷ Franceschi, f. 25-26; for the greeting of ambassadors and other foreign dignitaries in Florence, see Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, pp.306-18; Trexler, *The Libro Ceremoniale of the Florentine Republic*, p. 82- here the *Libro* describes the reception in Florence of ten Venetian ambassadors who were on their way to Rome in 1464.

The places in which Venetians stayed while abroad on embassies varied. I have found no evidence that Venetians had official residences in any state abroad, although they probably used the same lodgings in the major centres such as Rome and Milan repeatedly.⁶⁸ Vincent Ilardi has also made the useful point that it is a little misleading to talk about official residences for Italian ambassadors in France, as Louis's court was peripatetic, and foreign ambassadors were expected to move around with the court.⁶⁹ Certainly, Andrea de Franceschi, in his itinerary of Giorgio Contarini's and Paolo Pisani's mission to the Emperor in 1492, indicated that the Venetian ambassadors usually stayed either in '*osterie*' or in the homes of various contacts along the way. In Padua, for instance, they lodged in the '*hosteria dal Sole*'.⁷⁰ In Verona they stayed in the '*hosteria dal tre torre*',⁷¹ while in Trent, they slept in the '*hosteria de la rosa*'.⁷²

The ambassador was expected to stay at his position until recalled home. In 1482, legislation in the Senate reprimanded those ambassadors who asked to be released from their missions. The state, and no one else, should decide when an ambassador was to leave.⁷³ However, the ambassador might sometimes feel obliged to plead with the Senate for an early release. The Venetian ambassador to Rome in 1485 (Ludovico Bragadin), for instance, applied to Venice in 1485, asking to be relieved of his service as the plague was sweeping the city.⁷⁴

Once the mission was over and the ambassador was preparing to depart, it was common for the visiting ambassador to receive gifts, according to Queller. Failure to

⁶⁸ Davis, *Pursuit of Power*, p. 8; ambassadors visiting Florence were generally lodged in the same area, around Santa Maria Novella, Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, p. 318.

⁶⁹ Ilardi, *Dispatches and Related Documents*, vol. III, p. xxviii

⁷⁰ Franceschi, f. 25

⁷¹ *ibid.*, f. 27

⁷² *ibid.*, f. 29

⁷³ Queller, *Early Venetian legislation*, p. 47; note also Ermolao Barbaro's insistence that the ambassador should obey the orders he received from government unquestioningly, *De Officio Legati*, p. 159-160.

⁷⁴ DBI vol. 13, p. 658; asking permission to return home was clearly quite common- for example, Zaccaria Contarini, ambassador to the Emperor 1495-96, wrote to Venice in June 1496, asking to be allowed to return home- 'Dispacci al Senato Veneto di Francesco Foscari ed di altri oratori

exchange gifts might be interpreted as an insult. It had been a long tradition in Venice that gifts that ambassadors received during a mission should be returned to Venice and put up for public auction. Until the fifteenth century this custom had been largely ignored by allowing the recipient of the gift to buy back the gift at a nominal sum. In 1400, a law was drawn up to prevent this, stipulating that gifts must be purchased at the correct price. In 1403 it was decreed that any fief, loan, stipend, rents, lands received by an ambassador during a mission must be given back within a year (with the exception of papal benefactions). This exception was later made null. In 1482, it was decided that no public official should accept any office, dignity or benefice for himself or any other person,⁷⁵ ironically, something reiterated by Ermolao Barbaro in *De Officio Legati*.⁷⁶

Unfortunately, we have little evidence to show whether this legislation was applied or not in the second half of the fifteenth century, although the repetition of these laws implies that they were not being implemented. Gifts were generally given to the Senate on an ambassador's return, but what happened to them after that is usually unknown. Queller explains that the most common gifts given to ambassadors were chains, money or jewels and especially cloth.⁷⁷ Nicolò Da Canal in 1450, for example, carried a '*spada d'oro*' back from Rome to Venice.⁷⁸ Francesco Capello in 1494 brought back from Spain gifts in the form of a multicoloured parrot and '*un principe negro delle isole Canarie in carne ed*

presso l'imperatore Massimiliano I nel 1496', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tomo 71, parte 2 (1844), p. 727

⁷⁵ For this whole paragraph see Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation*, pp.42-43

⁷⁶ Ironic, of course, because Barbaro accepted a major benefice from the Pope when he was Venetian ambassador in Rome in 1490, *De Officio Legati*, p.164.

⁷⁷ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador*, p.292; see also Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, pp. 323-26, who suggests that the value of the gift bestowed by Florence depended upon the ranking of the individual in question (a papal ambassador, for example, would receive a more valuable gift than the Sienese ambassador); this view is corroborated by A. Maspes, 'Prammatica per ricevimento degli ambasciatori inviati alla Corte di Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duca di Milano (1468-10 Dicembre)', in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, vol. 7 anno 17 (1890), pp. 146-151- among other things, this lists the money given to ambassadors received at the Milanese court in 1468- the Venetian ambassadors received 'ducati XXV o XXX', while others, such as the Sienese, Bolognese, and Lucchese ambassadors received just twelve ducats.

⁷⁸ 'a gold sword', *DBI* vol. 17, p. 663; Marciana, Agostino degli Agostini, *Cronaca Veneta*, f. 148v

ossa’ who was sent to be educated at Padua at the government’s expense.⁷⁹ Caterino Zeno, on his arrival in Hungary, was given ‘*due coppe doro, et doi bellissimi cavalli*’.⁸⁰ When Giacomo Contarini returned from Spain, he brought back to Venice a black and white animal, called a ‘gazela’, which was similar to a cat.⁸¹

Once the ambassador had received permission to leave, Bernard du Rosier wrote that his departure, like his journey and arrival, should be prompt. It should be marked by formal public leave-taking, which might also soothe any strained relations that remained between the ambassador and the host state. When he returned to Venice, the ambassador should present a full and frank report to his own government.⁸² This ‘*relazione*’ (as the final report was called) was not intended to merely outline the events of the mission, but was to discuss such matters as the geography and climate of the state, the character of its king and queen, the customs and traditions of the state, the political allegiances of the monarch.⁸³

Although legislation requiring *relazioni* dates from the thirteenth century, it is generally agreed by Queller and others that Zaccaria Contarini’s *relazione* of 1492 is the earliest surviving report.⁸⁴ It is certainly the only *relazione* which survives for the period 1454-94. Queller has noted that Marino Sanuto’s diary has summaries of many *relazione*, but none which date before Contarini’s. Neither has he found any reference to earlier *relazioni* in chronicles or in Ermolao Barbaro’s *De Officio Legati*.⁸⁵ It had been assumed that the pre-sixteenth century *relazioni* were lost in fires in the Doges Palace; Queller however has suggested they may have never existed in the first place. He has argued that it

⁷⁹ ‘a black prince from the Canary Islands in flesh and blood’, *DBI* vol. 18, p. 776

⁸⁰ ‘two gold goblets and two very beautiful horses’, ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 359, 14 May 1474- letter from Leonardo Botta

⁸¹ ‘un animal tavanà bianco e negro che si chiama gazela, simile a un gatto e fa il zibeto’, *DBI* vol. 28, p. 193

⁸² Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 38

⁸³ D.E. Queller, ‘The development of ambassadorial *relazioni*’, p. 176. This essay is reprinted in D.E. Queller, *Medieval Diplomacy and the Fourth Crusade* (London 1980)

⁸⁴ *ibid.*; for transcript of Contarini’s *relazioni* see Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, pp. 2-26

was probably customary to present an oral *relazione* to Venice on the return from an embassy; written *relazioni* only became common practice after 1533.⁸⁵

The organisation of a Venetian mission was therefore governed by law; guidance about diplomatic behaviour might be found in theoretical treatises. Venetian legislation was clearly closely associated with the practice of diplomacy. While the relationship between law-making and practice was a complex one (as I have noted above), legislation was often drawn up to deal with organisational problems and issues that diplomatic practice raised. More general advice concerning how the ambassador should actually behave- the assembling of his entourage, the manner of his arrival and departure and so on- might be found in prescriptive treatises. As we have noted, while the relationship between legislation and diplomatic practice was comparatively close, we have no evidence to suggest that there was any correlation between these normative books and reality. The gap between theory and reality was sometimes negligible and at other times striking. Organisational principles, governed by law, probably came closest to reality. More general advice from treatises concerned with ambassadorial behaviour could deviate wildly from reality; here more depended on the personal behaviour and character of the ambassador.

Ambassadorial behaviour, however, was not only affected by personality and prescriptive advice, but by precedent and tradition; indeed, I would argue this was perhaps the most single influential factor concerning ambassadorial behaviour. Ambassadors probably passed ideas amongst themselves about proper behaviour and deportment, and learnt from the experiences of their peers. Venetians also must have exchanged ideas with other ambassadors they encountered abroad, or with whom they travelled in entourages. Continuity, as we shall see, was provided by repeatedly employing as ambassadors

⁸⁵ Queller, 'The development of ambassadorial *relazioni*', pp. 184-85

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 186-87; note also that foreign ambassadors in Venice often mention that Venetian ambassadors returning home presented *relazioni* to the government- for example see ASMi, Sforzesco Venezia, cart. 377, 25 Aug. 1491- Taddeo Vimercati reported that Paolo Trevisan, who had been resident ambassador in Milan had returned to Venice and was planning to present his

individuals who were related to one another, and who therefore were able to pass on their experiences. As we saw above, continuity was also provided by secretaries who tended to remain abroad on a more permanent basis, and did much to guide the newly arrived ambassador. Here, in the unquantifiable and almost invisible realm of experience, precedent and custom, the gap between theory and reality was at its greatest.

PART B: THE QUESTION OF AMBASSADORIAL IRRESPONSIBILITY

The second purpose of this chapter is to consider Venetian diplomatic practice in light of the 'myth of Venice'.⁸⁷ I do not propose to reiterate the entire history and substance of the debate. What I refer to in detail is just one part of the myth, that which relates to the Venetian patriciate. According to traditional interpretations of the myth, the Venetian noble class were loyal and honest servants of the state, untroubled by the usual inter-patrician hostility. The myth represents the Venetian nobility as selfless in holding political and diplomatic office, carrying out their duties with efficiency and success. Crucially, this harmonised and faithful Venetian noble class was a major factor in Venice's famous political stability. As Donald Queller has explained, 'A primary characteristic of the sanguine face of Venetian mythology is the conduct of a patriciate, guarding its monopoly of power by its selfless dedication to the welfare of the state'.⁸⁸

Diplomats, who as we know were repeatedly drawn from the highest echelons of Venetian society, have considerable bearing on this matter. As Queller has said, 'Diplomacy is an activity in which the Venetian patriciate was supposed to be at its very

relazione to the Senate. Unfortunately, Taddeo does not stipulate whether the report was written or orally presented.

⁸⁷ See F. Gaeta, 'Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia', *Bibliothèque D'Humanisme et de Renaissance*, 23 (1961), pp. 58-75; J.S. Grubb, 'When myths lose power: four decades of Venetian historiography', *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986), pp. 43-94

⁸⁸ D.E. Queller, 'The civic irresponsibility of the Venetian nobility', in D. Herlihy, R.S. Lopez and V. Stessarier (eds.), *Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy. Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds* (Kent, Ohio 1969), p. 223

best.⁸⁹ Garrett Mattingly has depicted the office of the ambassador in a predominantly positive light. He has argued that ambassadors were not the scheming and corrupt agents that Machiavelli portrayed in *The Prince*. They were men from good families who were generally loyal and faithful to their governments (with few exceptions). They were indeed men 'from whom honourable and intelligent behaviour might be expected'.⁹⁰ The major critic of the 'mythological' position has been Queller. In a series of works he has tried to shatter the myth of a loyal and faithful patriciate class in Venice. The crux of his argument is that the Venetian patriciate was as ordinary, corrupt and inefficient as any other nobility; they were unexceptional.⁹¹ Much of Queller's argument is founded upon his research on Venetian diplomats and especially on Venetian legislation regarding ambassadors.

I return to discuss the various aspects of Queller's attack on the myth in a moment. At this stage, though, I would point out the essential futility in trying to 'dispel' any myth. As J.S. Grubb has pointed out 'myths have no truth value'. We should not confuse 'myth, which cannot be false, and reputation which often is' and 'reality, which is structured by recourse to myth, and behaviour which is often not'.⁹² He has argued that rather than testing the accuracy of the myth, we should consider its 'ideological intentions'; the myth of the patriciate, he has suggested, was formulated as a means by which the class defined itself and was defined, rather as a way of establishing an ideal behavioural code.⁹³

I suggest that in fact Queller is principally concerned with the reputation and behaviour of Venetian nobles, rather than with their mythological image. This second part of this chapter investigates his argument in the light of my own research on Venetian ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century. I begin by considering how the reports of Milanese and other foreign ambassadors contributed to the perception of the greatness of Venetian ambassadors, how a mythology, perhaps, was created. I then move

⁸⁹ Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation*, p. 18

⁹⁰ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 100-102

⁹¹ Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. ix, 247

⁹² Grubb, 'When myths lose power', p. 51

on to look at some of the issues Queller highlighted in his attack on the myth; in particular, the alleged unwillingness to hold ambassadorial office, and the inefficiency and corruption of ambassadors abroad.

The creation of a myth?

When we consider foreign ambassadors' reports sent from Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century, we can begin to see how a 'mythology' surrounding Venetian diplomatic institutions and ambassadors may have been created. My comments for this next section are based upon the dispatches of various ambassadors who had been sent to Venice; in particular, I have looked at those sent from Ferrara, Milan, Mantua and Florence. As I have explained above, these ambassadors' reports are full of political gossip and frequently report on the behaviour of Venetian patricians; in particular, the actions of Venetian ambassadors seemed to draw their attention. It was especially common for foreign ambassadors to describe the Venetian who was about to be sent as diplomat to their state; for example, the Milanese ambassador in Venice often sent the Milanese government descriptions of the Venetian who had been elected ambassador to Milan. These reports show that the myth of Venice was not just a created by Venetians, but was at least in part formed by foreign opinion.

Many of these descriptions of Venetian ambassadors by foreigners were extremely complimentary. Leonardo Botta, the Milanese ambassador in Venice, for instance, reported on 16 November 1474 that Zaccaria Barbaro had been elected ambassador to Rome and that he was '*...homo de autorità et da bene...*'⁹⁴ On 7 February 1477 Similarly, Paolo Trevisan, the Venetian ambassador in Milan in 1489, was described as '*...homo multo*

⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 51

⁹⁴ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 360, 16 Nov 1474

estimato et de grande riputation' by the Mantuan ambassador.⁹⁵ Paolo Morosini, about to be sent as ambassador to the Pope in 1474, was described as a man of authority.⁹⁶ One of the tributes paid to Pietro Diedo on his death was that he was '*...di grande extimatione....*'.⁹⁷ Giacomo Trotti, the Ferrarese ambassador in Rome, described Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan as '*...dui ambas[sado]ri deli primarii gentilhomini de Veneta.*' in 1494.⁹⁸ Similarly in 1487, Antonio Loredan was called '*...gentilhomio primario di Venetia....*'.⁹⁹ In 1470 the Mantuan Giovanni di Strigi reported that Bernardo Giustiniani, Ludovico Foscari, Giacomo Loredan and Vettore Soranzo, the Venetian ambassadors to Rome *in obedientia*, were '*...homini principali de la terra, e di stato.*'¹⁰⁰

In some cases, foreign observers knew a considerable amount concerning the person about whom they were writing; some of their reports provide an extraordinary amount of information, especially regarding the ages and previous employment of ambassadors. On 14 March 1490, for example, the Milanese ambassador to Venice, wrote to the Duke of Milan describing Paolo Trevisan as '*homo splendidissimo et richissimo cavalliere non doctore...*' He noted that he had previously been the ambassador to Mantua, and was now to be the ambassador in Milan.¹⁰¹ In July 1492, Taddeo Vimercati reported to the Duke of Milan that Benedetto Trevisan has been elected ambassador to Milan in place of Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo. He was '*...persona molto zentile...*', about 40 years of age.¹⁰² In 1474, when Francesco Giustiniani was elected *podestà* of Cremona, Botta described him as '*p[er]sona da bene, et tractibile*'. He was also noted as

⁹⁵ 'a man much valued and of a great reputation', ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, Estere, Venezia, b. 1432, 14 March 1489

⁹⁶ '*homo docto, et de bona auctorita*', ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 360, 8 Nov. 1474

⁹⁷ ASMo, Carteggio Ambasciatori, Venezia, b. 7, f. 54-111/37 (16 April 1490)

⁹⁸ 'two ambassadors of the leading gentlemen in Venice', ASMo, Carteggio Ambasciatori, Milano, b. 8, f. 514-515

⁹⁹ ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, Estere, Venezia, b. 1432, 11 June 1487

¹⁰⁰ 'principal men of the land, and of the state', ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, Estere, Venezia, b. 1431 bis, 15 April 1470

¹⁰¹ 'very splendid and rich knight, not doctor', ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 375, 14 March 1490,

¹⁰² ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 378, 14 July 1492

having served as ambassador in Rome on many occasions.¹⁰³ When he heard that Sebastiano Badoer had been elected *podestà* of Bergamo in 1476, Leonardo Botta explained to the Duke of Milan in his dispatch that Badoer was a ‘...*zentil homo dottissimo....*’ who had previously been ambassador to Hungary where he was held in high regard.¹⁰⁴

Although praise of Venetians was common in the reports of foreign ambassadors, so too were rather less complimentary descriptions. In 1477, for example, Bertucio Gabriel and Francesco Michiel were elected ambassadors to Ferdinand of Naples on the occasion of his wedding. Both were described by the Milanese ambassador in Venice as ‘*homeni zoueni et de pochissima reputatione*’. When Gabriel refused the post and Nicolò Pesaro was elected in his place, he too was referred to as ‘*homo de pocha fama*’.¹⁰⁵ A year later, Leonardo Botta described Gabriel as a good man, but rather lacking in depth.¹⁰⁶ Foreign criticism of Venetian ambassadors could also be more specific. Domenico Gradenigo (who in 1474 had just been made ambassador to Naples), was cuttingly described by Leonardo Botta as ‘...*uno homo che rare volte se ritrova dire il vero, et che naturalmente ha le più dolce parole del mondo, ma tute piene de similatione*’.¹⁰⁷ It is difficult to know how reliable these foreign reports were; just three years later, Botta described Gradenigo (then ambassador to France) as ‘...*uno homo molto cerimonioso, & pomposo*’.¹⁰⁸

The contents of these reports probably reflect the political agenda of these foreign ambassadors. It is true that many Venetian ambassadors were probably genuinely respected men, and deserved the compliments of these foreign ambassadors. On the other hand, the foreign ambassadors’ reports home may have been intended to soothe the worries

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, cart. 360 20 Aug. 1474

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, cart. 363 26 Feb. 1476

¹⁰⁵ ‘young men and of very little reputation’, Gabriel is described as ‘a man of little reputation’, *ibid.*, cart. 364, 9 July and 28 July 1477

¹⁰⁶ ‘*e persona humanissima & da bene, sed (meo iuditio) non pescha troppo a fondo*’, *ibid.*, cart. 367 2 Aug. 1478

¹⁰⁷ ‘a man who rarely finds use for the truth and naturally makes use of the sweetest words in the world, but full of simulation’ *ibid.*, cart. 360, 18 Aug. 1474

of their government regarding the type of men who were to be sent to them as ambassadors; it is quite possible that they emphasised the good points of the Venetian in question in order not to be the bearers of bad news to their own governments. The formulaic way in which Venetians are sometimes described (*homo da bene, molto zentile, primario di state*) suggests that these foreigners may have been providing standard reports of Venetians, descriptions which would have been expected. The deviance from this standard description when it appears (such as in the case of Domenico Gradenigo) is therefore particularly striking. For whatever reason, however, foreign praise of Venetians contributed to the image-building of Venetian ambassadors abroad- the question is, of course, how far this image was deserved in practice.

The attack on the myth

Elections

We now move to the first part of Donald Queller's attack on the myth of Venice; that Venetian patricians frequently disturbed or even subverted electoral processes in order to avoid being elected to an unpopular office. Most of Queller's comments are based upon his work on Venetian legislation, as I explained above. As we have already noted, the relationship between legislation (which was prescriptive) and actual practice is a complex one. Venetian legislation was designed to stop loopholes, yet the laws were not evidence in themselves that particular loopholes ever existed. Legislation can tell us nothing about how prevalent a particular problem was. This is especially the case with Venice which often designed legislation as a reaction to specific instances and made free use of rhetorical devices in order to argue points of law.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, cart. 364, 7 Feb. 1477

Queller has suggested that Venetians went out of their way to avoid being elected to office, particularly ambassadorial office, in his words, they went to 'ridiculous' lengths to avoid election.¹⁰⁹ He has provided two reasons why ambassadorial office was especially unpopular. First, serving on a mission abroad (and especially on a mission far away from Venice) routinely forced the ambassador to use his personal income to supplement the costs incurred during the mission.¹¹⁰ Second, the men who went on missions for the Venetian state were generally the elite of political office holders in Venice. They were men, he has argued, who were overburdened with holding public office anyway.¹¹¹

Queller has suggested that the offices they were most likely to shirk were those which would incur a large personal expense (therefore most ambassadorial embassies) and those offices they sought were those from which they could profit (such as the *bailo* in Constantinople).¹¹² His proof for this is a series of legislation from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries which was directed against preventing Venetian patricians from disturbing the electoral process. In 1427, for example, a penalty of one year's exclusion from office and fine of one hundred lire was to be imposed on any one who tried to influence the ballot for election to public office either for himself or anyone else. Other legislation was aimed against those patricians who, when elected, tried to avoid the office by arguing that the electoral process had been at fault in some way; in 1440 it was decreed that even if there were anomalies in the electoral process, the ambassador still had to either serve on the mission or pay the prescribed fine.¹¹³ Once an ambassador had been elected, he had to appear before the council within a specific amount of time in order to accept the position. A law of 1441 suggested that nominees tried to avoid ambassadorial office and the fine by ensuring that they were absent from Venice during this allotted time; it decreed

¹⁰⁹ Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, p. 18; Queller, 'Civic irresponsibility', pp. 26, 227-32; Chambers, *Imperial Age of Venice*, p. 78

¹¹⁰ Queller, 'Civic irresponsibility', p. 225; Queller, *Early Venetian legislation*, p. 22

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 30

¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 31

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 35

that if a nominee did not appear on time, that he would be entered as a debtor to the commune and would not be permitted to hold office until the debt had been paid.¹¹⁴

Once an individual was elected to an ambassadorial post, he was obliged to take it up unless a reasonable excuse was given. If the individual refused the post and gave an excuse which was accepted by the council, then he would be exempted from the post. According to Venetian legislation, claims of infirmity, old age and special circumstances would only be accepted by a two-thirds vote of the Great Council, although Queller has argued that legitimate excuses were usually accepted.¹¹⁵ If the ambassador-elect's excuse was not accepted, then he would be liable for a fine or possibly a brief period of exile. Such penalties varied, but fines could be severe. Leonardo Botta in 1480 explained to the Duke of Milan that Giovanni Emo had been elected to Milan, but renounced the post '*... e ha piu tosto voluto pagare li dicti mille ducati.*'¹¹⁶ Likewise in 1479, Botta mentioned to the duke that Vettore Soranzo was elected ambassador '*sotto pena de ducati doa milles*' (an extraordinary amount of money).¹¹⁷ Francesco Diedo, when appointed to an embassy to Urbino in 1472, was told that the penalty for refusal was five hundred ducats.¹¹⁸

We have little information about whether those who were elected to an ambassadorial post actually subverted the electoral process. What we do know more about is how frequently men refused ambassadorial posts to which they had been elected. Unfortunately we do not always know why an ambassadorial office was refused, or

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.36

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.38

¹¹⁶ 'and has chosen to pay the said one thousand ducats', ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 370, 5 March 1480

¹¹⁷ 'on pain of two thousand ducats', *ibid.*, cart. 369, 21 September 1479; another example of an equally high fine was that imposed on Ludovico Lando, when he tried to exempt himself from a mission to Hungary in 1479, Sanuto, *Vite dei Dogi*, pp. 163-64; for an idea of the value of money in this period, see R.C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, vol. II- *The Venetian Money Market. Banks, Panic and the Public Debt 1200-1500* (Baltimore and London 1997), pp. 648-50. This indicates that the salary of a top marine architect in 1424 was one hundred ducats, the estimated worth of Andrea Barbarigo at his death in 1449 was 15,000 ducats, and that the dowries for the daughters of Doge Andrea Vendramin around 1476 were between 6000 and 7000 ducats. The estimated patrimony of Vendramin in 1476 was 160,000 ducats.

¹¹⁸ *DBI vol. 39*, pp. 70-71

whether the ambassador was actually fined for not taking up the post. What we do know from a study of *Senato Secreta* is that it was not at all uncommon for men to refuse diplomatic offices to which they had been elected.

In practice, there might be many reasons why an ambassador-elect might try to exempt himself from a mission and might finally not serve on it at all. Here, I want to note three possible approaches and outcomes for such an individual. First, he might be declared ineligible to hold the office because he already held another (perhaps more important) post in Venice or the *terraferma*. Second, he might provide reasons why he could not serve on the mission (on the grounds of ill health or infirmity for example) and he might be fully exempted from the embassy. The third possibility was that the ambassador-elect might refuse to go on the mission, but that he would not be exempted from the office (he had given an excuse that was not accepted) This individual would then be subject to the fine that the Republic levied upon those who refused to take up an ambassadorial office to which they had been elected.

The first point then, essentially concerns eligibility for ambassadorial office. According to the relevant legislation, this was a matter of some confusion in fifteenth-century Venice. Various pieces of legislation from the thirteenth to fourteenth century excluded certain persons from being elected diplomats. There were, for example, acts which decreed that judges, *avogadori di comun*, and councillors should not be permitted to hold ambassadorial office. Relatives were also prevented from serving on the same mission together. Most rulings concerning eligibility, however, appear to have been based upon individual cases. In 1409, for example, despite legislation to the contrary, an *avogador di comun* was elected ambassador and it was decided that he should be allowed to go and that his office at home should be held over for him until his return. Because of the problems associated with finding men of suitable prestige, in 1464 it was decided that ambassadors to Rome could be elected from *any* office, including those from outside Venice- this

included councillors, *advogador* and members of the Council of Ten. Those who were elected from these offices were enjoined not to delay in Rome but to take care to return to their responsibilities in Venice as soon as possible. As many of these posts were sent to celebrate the accession of a new pope, a long stay in Rome was rarely required.¹¹⁹

The second possibility for an ambassador-elect was to be exempted from office on the basis of a legitimate excuse, such as old age or illness. In 1498, for example, Benedetto Trevisan was elected ambassador to Milan but appealed against the election on the grounds that his wife was ill. The Senate initially refused his appeal but finally released him from duty.¹²⁰ Ludovico Lando tried to exempt himself from a mission to Hungary in 1479 on the grounds that his leg was injured: his plea was however turned down.¹²¹ Zaccaria Contarini in 1500 was elected ambassador to Hungary but asked to be exempted from the post. His request was accepted on the grounds that he had a sick wife and ten children, that he had already served on a large number of diplomatic embassies before this, that in Germany he had been given lodgings in the house where a man had died of the plague, and that his father and two other relatives had died from their exertions in serving the state.¹²²

The third possibility for an ambassador-elect was that his excuse might not be accepted and that he would be liable to a fine. We can only guess why men sometimes refused office; there must have been a host of reasons ranging from laziness to not wanting to leave family in Venice.¹²³ I want to look at just one case study which shows that one reason for turning down a post might be that the embassy itself was a particularly difficult or sensitive one. In 1479 Leonardo Botta, the Milanese ambassador to Venice, wrote to the

¹¹⁹ Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation*, pp 28-31

¹²⁰ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 1268, 12 Jan. 1498 and 24 March 1498- I am grateful to Michael Mallett for drawing my attention to this case.

¹²¹ Sanuto, *Vite dei Dogi*, p. 163-64

¹²² Hale, 'International relations and the west: diplomacy and war', p. 272

¹²³ Amelot de Houssaye has suggested some reasons why men might have turned down ambassadorial office. He has argued that the 'ancient' nobility may have declined expensive embassies, while the young were happy to be appointed to them, so that they could make a name for themselves, A. N. Amelot de la Houssaye, *The History of the Government of Venice* (London 1677), p. 282.

Duke of Milan informing him that Francesco Priuli had been elected ambassador to Milan but was expected to refuse the post. It was understood at the time that Giacomo da Mezzo would be elected in his place. In fact, Mezzo also refused the post, and Francesco Diedo was finally elected to the position.¹²⁴ What is interesting is that Botta was repeating a general perception felt in Venice that Priuli would refuse to take up the post. When we consider the embassy itself, it becomes clear that this would have unquestionably been an unpopular mission. 1479 was a time of increasingly strained relations between Milan and the Republic, relations which further deteriorated when Venice signed a peace with Rome in 1480. Once Diedo was in place in Milan he became increasingly unhappy about his situation there and asked the Senate to release him from his post. He was finally dismissed by an irate duke of Milan.¹²⁵ It seems, then, that that refusals to hold diplomatic posts may have been more frequent during periods of tricky diplomatic negotiations. This refusal rate would have undoubtedly risen when these periods coincided with times of war finance, which brought large cuts in the expenses awarded to patrician office-holders.¹²⁶

The evidence that I have found in Venetian sources indicates that it was common for an individual to refuse diplomatic posts to which he had been elected. We have many references in both Venetian and other sources to support this view. This could show that Venetian patricians were as Queller has suggested, lazy and unwilling to serve the state, and that the post of ambassador was an unpopular one. I would dispute this argument. The refusal to hold diplomatic office without a good excuse must have been particularly irritating for the Republic. The fact that ambassadors were not elected by scrutiny, but by nomination and election must have made it doubly infuriating; if a man was elected as

¹²⁴ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 368, 21 Sept. 1479 and 23 Sept. 1479

¹²⁵ DBI vol. 39, p. 77

¹²⁶ On the costs of war, and problems associated with this, see M. Knapton, 'Guerra e finanza 1381-1508' in G. Cozzi and M. Knapton, *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna, Dalla guerra di Chioggia al 1517, Storia d'Italia, vol. 12, tomo primo* (Torino 1986), pp. 275-335

ambassador, it was impertinent for him to refuse the post. This is illustrated by the large fines with which the Republic threatened recalcitrant diplomats.¹²⁷

However, although we can provide no clear statistical evidence, it does seem to be the case that these fines were rarely imposed. At the same time, refusals were fairly common. This would suggest that the excuses of the individuals in question were often accepted. As we have seen, there were many good reasons why Venetians might refuse ambassadorial office. As we will see later, long absences serving outside of Venice might be a handicap, especially if an individual was trying to pursue a political career at home.¹²⁸ Yet most of the men who served as ambassadors did manage to lead comparatively successful political careers at home. They were able to do this because the Venetian political system catered for the absences of men who were elected as ambassadors. Any Venetian patrician could be elected ambassador and the Venetian system ensured that politicians who had been elected to serve on missions were drawn back into political circles at home by being invited to hold various government posts *ex officio* on their return. It seems to me that the high rate of refusals to hold diplomatic office is not then an indication of the unpopularity of ambassadorial office. On the other hand, it reflects the flexibility of the Venetian political system, which allowed individuals to combine holding political office in Venice with service abroad.

Duties while abroad

If electoral irresponsibility is the first strand to Queller's attack on the myth of the Venetian ambassador, the second concerns the ambassador's behaviour once they were installed at their post. As we know, Venetian mythology held that patricians were not only

¹²⁷ B. Pullan, 'The occupations and investments of the Venetian nobility in the middle and later sixteenth century', in Hale, *Renaissance Venice*, pp. 396-97. As those who were indebted to the Republic were ineligible to hold public office, Pullan suggests that some patricians may have deliberately disqualified themselves by refusing offices and incurring fines.

selfless, but were especially efficient and competent in their public duties. Again, Queller uses legislation on diplomacy to show that the state identified major problems with ambassadorial behaviour; these patricians were not as perfect as the myth suggested. Much legislation, he has shown, was concerned with the quality of reports and dispatches received from ambassadors. Other legislation attacked a range of ambassadorial 'abuses'; the failure to maintain the secrecy of a mission, or of acting against or beyond the mandate given by government.¹²⁹

Most relevant for our period is an act of 1478. This legislation attacked two elements of apparent ambassadorial irresponsibility. First, it reprimanded ambassadors for their report writing and specifically said that ambassadors should communicate to Venice exactly what had been said to them while they were abroad.¹³⁰ Second, it condemned those ambassadors who acted beyond or contrary to the mandate given to them by the Republic ; no ambassador should say or do anything other than was specifically included in their instructions. If they did exceed their mandate the penalty would be severe; they would be excluded from public office for five years and would be presented to the *Avogaria di Comun* for punishment.¹³¹

This legislation infers that the state found something lacking in the reports they received from their ambassadors and in their behaviour abroad. In the light of this legislation and Queller's interpretation of it, I investigate ambassadorial behaviour abroad from three perspectives. First I consider how ambassadors maintained their relationship with the principal (that is Venice) through report writing. Second I look at their relations and contacts with ambassadors, foreign and Venetian, while abroad. Finally, I consider

¹²⁸ See chapter 6, pp.223-24

¹²⁹ Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation*, pp. 44, 45

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p.49

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p.45; it is impossible to say what may have provoked this piece of legislation (if anything). We might note, however, that it may be a response to the case of Giovanni Emo who in 1477-78 was ambassador to Florence and upset his Florentine hosts by his behaviour; he was swiftly replaced by Bembo - more details of this case can be found in chapter 6, 219-21.

some case studies of missions whose failure was blamed on the character and behaviour of the serving Venetian ambassador.

The duties of the ambassador while on a mission might include negotiating commercial transactions for merchants, paying troops, soliciting office for other Venetians.¹³² However, perhaps the most important duty of the ambassador, and the way the relationship between the ambassador and the principal was maintained, was through regular report writing. Of course, the form and nature of these reports varied depending upon the mission on which the ambassador had been sent. Certainly, for resident ambassadors at least, the gathering, assessing and sending information home was their most important task.¹³³ This information might have been gathered by the ambassador from a variety of sources, merchants, courtiers, foreign representatives of banks, other ambassadors and as J.C. Davis has suggested, even paid informants.¹³⁴ Ermolao Barbaro in *De Officio Legati*, however, warned that the ambassador should not behave like a spy; the best way to gather information, he argued, was by listening.¹³⁵

The ambassador, of course, was expected to maintain confidentiality and secret matters of state. Ermolao Barbaro in his *De Officio Legati* enjoined that the ambassador should be cautious in his speech and conversation.¹³⁶ The importance of secrecy in diplomatic relations is shown by the comparatively large number of Italian dispatches of this period which were written in cipher.¹³⁷ Of course, Venetians did not always succeed in living up to the ideal of confidentiality. The most notorious corruption case concerning

¹³² Mallett, 'Ambassadors and their audiences', pp. 232-33

¹³³ *ibid.*, pp. 232-33

¹³⁴ Davis, *Pursuit of Power*, p.9

¹³⁵ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 99

¹³⁶ *De Officio Legati*, pp. 163-64

¹³⁷ The use of cipher varies. Sometimes entire letters are encoded, although more commonly the letters are in Italian, with a few important words given in cipher. Frequently, a 'translation' of the code is written in above the word in question (presumably added when it was received by the relevant council in Venice). For a good introduction to the history of cryptology, see D. Kahn, *The Codebreakers. The Story of Secret Writing* (London 1966), especially pp. 106-114; see also Cerioni, *La Diplomazia Sforzesca*. This study focuses upon 'Codici 2398' from the National Library of Vienna, one of the oldest collections of ciphers, and upon the ciphers which survive in

secrecy was uncovered in Venice in 1478. In this year, the Venetian ambassador in Venice complained that Venetian business in Rome was well known in the Curia; indeed, he argued that sources in Rome appeared to know Venetian business before he did. An investigation was duly carried out, and an envoy to Rome was intercepted. On his person was discovered letters that implicated Ludovico and Andrea Zane, the brothers of Lorenzo Zane (bishop of Brescia and titular patriarch of Antioch), in a corruption scandal. Later evidence also incriminated the senator Domenico Malipiero and his brother in law Vitale Lando (one of the ambassadors in the core group). Evidence was uncovered which showed that these four had been relaying secret information to Lorenzo Zane, who had then passed it on to Rome. Lando was known to have received two hundred ducats a year for his involvement while his son was given the abbacy of the Umiliati. The punishment was exile for Lando in Vicenza and permanent deprivation of all offices.¹³⁸

Evidence of Venetian report-writing, unfortunately, is limited as few ambassadorial dispatches survive for the second half of the fifteenth century; only four full series are extant in Venice. These four are Francesco Contarini's letters from Siena 1454-55, Zaccaria Contarini and Girolamo Lion's register of letters while they were ambassadors to the King of the Romans 1493-94 (the title reserved for the Emperor Presumptive), the dispatches of Zaccaria Barbaro from Naples and the letters of Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan from Milan 1494-95.¹³⁹ All of the ambassadors on these missions wrote home regularly. It was usual for them to write every day, and sometimes they would write twice or even three times a day depending upon the news they

the Milanese archives (for an outline of these see *vol. 1*, pp. 1-85). The ciphers are published in the second volume of the work.

¹³⁸ See Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 214-25; Fletcher, *Venetian Cardinals*, p. 103

¹³⁹ Although do see my comments on the remaining dispatches for fifteenth-century Venice in chapter 1, pp. 15-16, footnote number 6.

had to impart. It is noticeable that many of the letters not only carry a date, but also an hour when the letter was written. The letters vary from a few lines to several pages.¹⁴⁰

The reports that these ambassadors wrote tended to follow a similar formula. The letters usually began by describing the correspondence that the ambassador had received from Venice (if anything). It is worth noting at this point that a letter usually took four days to get from Venice to Rome and two to get from Florence to Rome;¹⁴¹ this sort of time-frame is borne out by the four series of Venetian dispatches. Francesco Contarini in Siena in 1454, for example, often received letters from the Senate which had been sent one or two days before.¹⁴² The ambassador in his dispatch would then try to answer any questions or points which had been raised in the correspondence from the principal. He would go on to explain whether he had received correspondence from anyone else, and would usually outline the content of these letters, or even provide a copy.¹⁴³ The ambassador would also describe whom he had met since last writing and would usually outline the substance of the conversation. There might also be some description of what the ambassador had done that day, whether he had been at court, gone to mass and so on. There would often be long reports concerning military and political news. The ambassador

¹⁴⁰ See appendix 4, pp. 407-13. This is an index of the dispatch of Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan, now held in the *Biblioteca Marciana*. This shows the length of letters, how often they were sent (notice that the hour the letter was written is almost always given) and by whom the dispatch was written. It shows that Giorgio Pisani was present in Milan for a little while with Badoer and Trevisan and that Trevisan died midway through the mission. See also Corazzol, *Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro*- the hours the dispatches were written are almost always given on the letters.

¹⁴¹ G. Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven and London 1998). Table 5, pp. 53 shows the time taken for news to arrive in Venice 1497-1522, compiled from information in the diary of Marino Sanuto. This table shows that a letter could take anything from one and a half to nine days to get to Venice, although the 'normal' length of time was four days. The usual time for a letter to get to Naples was eight days, and Paris twelve days. Communications between Venice and Constantinople varied between fifteen and eighty-one days- the 'normal' length of time was thirty-four days. Parker concludes that the greatest difficulty in getting hold of information was not the late arrival of letters, but the sheer unpredictability of their arrival. (p. 52)

¹⁴² See his dispatches: Marciana, Francesco Contarini; Registro delle lettere scritte al Senato quando era ambasciatore a Siena 1454-55

¹⁴³ See appendix 4 which shows that copies of letters received by ambassador were sometimes included in dispatches (such as the letter from Giorgio Nigro f. 14v-15r (15 Dec. 1494).

regularly mentioned the arrival and departures of other ambassadors and foreign dignitaries.

The relationship with others that ambassadors forged while abroad was an essential part of diplomatic business. It was natural that an ambassador would come into contact with other diplomats, both foreign and Venetian. The four sets of dispatches in the *Marciana* show that Venetian ambassadors were very concerned about the movements of foreign ambassadors; they repeatedly noted their arrivals and departures, and with whom they had spoken to while abroad. Furthermore, sometimes ambassadors were actually instructed by the state to seek out foreign ambassadors and negotiate with them. In 1470, for example, the Neapolitan ambassador Barolomeo da Recanati was told to communicate with the Venetian ambassador, as they were both in negotiations with the Florentines.¹⁴⁴

Other important contacts were Venetian ambassadors who were stationed abroad. In 1458, for example, Bernardo Giustiniani was elected ambassador to Naples and was ordered to stop in Rome on his way. He was explicitly told to contact Triadano Gritti, Matteo Vettori, Giacomo Loredan and Girolamo Barbarigo who were the Venetian ambassadors *in obedientia* to Pope Pius II.¹⁴⁵ Giorgio Contarini and Paolo Pisani stopped off in Milan in 1492 after a mission to the Emperor and met with the Venetian ambassador there, Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo.¹⁴⁶ When Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan were sent to Milan in 1494-95, they worked alongside the Venetian, Giorgio Pisani there. One of the remaining series of Venetian dispatches has survived for this mission, and so we know that the three ambassadors collaborated for some time.¹⁴⁷

One of the problems in forming contacts beyond Italy must have been limitations of language. Most ambassadors were expected to be able to give orations in Latin, and there was clearly an expectation that they would be understood. When Paolo Pisani and

¹⁴⁴ Lorenzo, *Lettere*, vol 1, p. 252

¹⁴⁵ Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*, pp. 143-153

¹⁴⁶ Franceschi, f. 88

Giorgio Contarini were on a mission to the Emperor, they met some *consiglieri* of the Duke of Austria. According to their secretary, Andrea de Franceschi, the Austrians communicated with the Italians by speaking in Latin and '*la lingua nostra vulgar*'. Contarini replied to them in Italian.¹⁴⁸ When the two ambassadors finally arrived in Linz they were met by many German gentleman and were greeted in Latin by the *consigliere*.¹⁴⁹

I conclude this chapter by looking at two cases where the failure of a mission was blamed on the behaviour of the commissioned ambassador. The relationship between the ambassador and the receiving state was essentially a complex one; often the success or failure of a mission could depend upon the behaviour of a particular ambassador. The Venetian view was ambiguous. On one hand, knowing that a diplomat's actions were critical, they wanted their ambassadors to behave with decorum and sensitivity. On the other hand, the state was extremely keen to avoid allowing their ambassadors to form close ties with the government to which they had been sent, fearing that collusion between the two might be to the detriment of the state.¹⁵⁰

The importance of the behaviour of the ambassador to the success of a mission can be illustrated by two very different case studies. The first concerns Nicolò da Canal's mission to France in 1463, when his apparently 'improper' behaviour resulted in the souring of Franco-Venetian relations for some time.¹⁵¹ Because the problems of this mission were so profound, it was decided that an experienced and loyal ambassador was required and Venice chose Nicolò da Canal. Da Canal faced the not inconsiderable problem of trying to mediate between the fundamentally different interests of France on one side and Venice on the other. He was instructed to get support in France for an anti-Turkish league, but was forbidden to promise anything to the French in return. While the actual events of

¹⁴⁷ See appendix 4 which is an index of Badoer and Trevisan's dispatch and indicates which letters were written from all three ambassadors.

¹⁴⁸ Franceschi, f. 38

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, f. 44

¹⁵⁰ This argument is developed further in chapter 6, pp. 219-226.

¹⁵¹ *DBI vol. 17*, p. 665

this mission are a matter of some debate, the result of it was that Da Canal was accused of being rude and arrogant in his diplomatic dealings. By May and June even formal relations between the king and Venetian ambassador had broken down and Louis XI made it very clear that he wished the Venetian to leave. Da Canal regarded this as an assault on the liberty and rights of the Venetian state and refused to depart when asked. After his eventual return to Venice, he was not entrusted with another major office until 1467.¹⁵²

The second case study concerns the oft-quoted mission of Fillipo Correr to Naples in 1469.¹⁵³ Correr was sent to Naples just after Milan, Florence, Naples and Venice had concluded an agreement with the Pope in 1469. However, an unexpected contest between the Pope and the Malatesta for Rimini was threatening the equilibrium of Italy which Venice wished to maintain. Correr was sent to Naples to induce the king to recognise the alliance and keep his peace with the Pope. Correr remained in Naples and in April 1470 an alliance between Venice and Naples was formulated, although several key parts of the treaty were rejected by the Senate. Correr was told not to accept these passages, which directly contravened the earlier treaty made with the Pope. Correr went on to conclude the treaty including the passages which the Senate had refused. In order to justify his actions he wrote to the Senate arguing that he had agreed to the treaty for the good of Venice. He was instantly removed from Naples and replaced by the highly reliable and experienced Bernardo Giustiniani.¹⁵⁴ We do not know why Correr acted so imprudently. It is possible that he hoped to force the *Signoria* to a more anti-papal stance with the support of that section of the patriciate who wanted further alliance with Naples and an extension of Venetian influence in the Papal States. The Venetian response to Correr's behaviour was swift and harsh. Correr on his return to Venice was imprisoned for six months and was unable to hold the post of *podestà* of Brescia to which he had been elected. He was banned for two years from sitting on any secret council and was forbidden to serve on an embassy

¹⁵² See his biographical profile in appendix 1.

again. The condemnation was given not only for the signing of the treaty, but also for the letter he had sent home excusing his actions.

These cases, while very different, serve to illustrate the point that the behaviour (or perceived behaviour) of the ambassador could not only affect the outcome of a diplomatic mission, but might have more fundamental political implications. In the first case, it was Da Canal's character which is apparently at fault. He was regarded as over-bearing and arrogant in his dealings with the French government. Yet it is difficult to ascribe the failure of the mission to the behaviour of Da Canal, the ambassador, rather than to intrinsic problems with the embassy itself (and in this case Franco-Venetian relations). As we have noted, there were profound problems with serving on a mission such as this; the ambassador was often useful scapegoat to blame when things went wrong.

Correr's crime was far more serious than Da Canal's. Here was an ambassador directly disobeying instructions, possibly in order to further his own political beliefs. This was of course exactly what the Venetian government dreaded- an individual with his own political agenda trying to alter Venetian policy for his own political ends. Not only this, but he had tried to defend his actions to the state. Yet the response of Venice was swift and devastating. Beyond permanent exile, imprisonment, humiliation, and the banning of holding certain posts were some of the grimmest fates a Venetian politician could face. Venice made it clear that this sort of independent action by ambassadors was absolutely not tolerated. The fact that this case study is so frequently repeated in the secondary source material testifies to its uniqueness. I have found no other example of an ambassador acting beyond or contrary to his mandate in such a complete and public way.¹⁵³

Of course, then, Queller is right to point out that the mythological image of a perfect, loyal, obedient patriciate class does not square with reality. He is correct when he

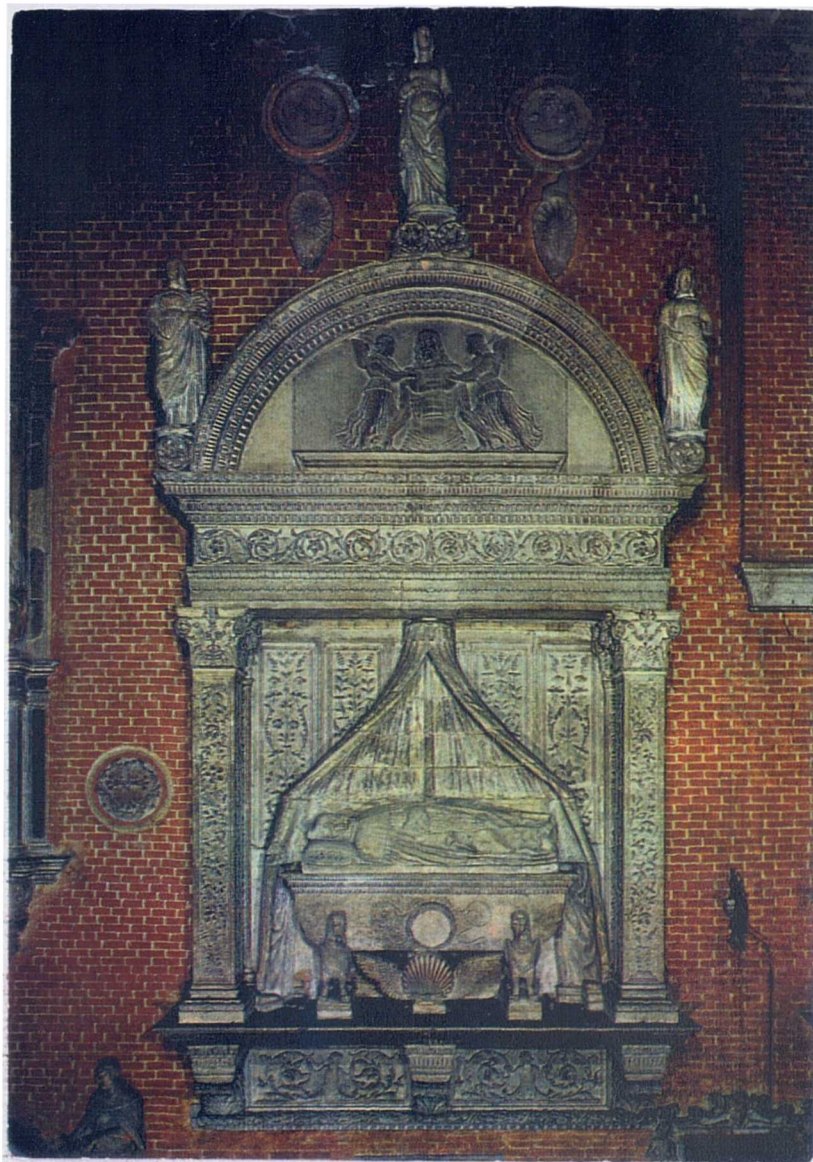
¹⁵³ *DBI* vol. 29, p. 492; Lorenzo, *Lettere* vol. 1, p. 166

¹⁵⁴ Queller, *Office of Ambassador*, p.106

¹⁵⁵ Although see the case of Ermolao Barbaro, who accepted a major benefice from the Pope while ambassador to Rome in 1490. The case is related in more detail in chapter 6, pp. 221-22

says that Venetian nobles were ordinary men, and thus could be expected to behave in a human, rather than a perfect manner. However, it is misleading to infer that just because disloyalty, disobedience and incompetence existed among ambassadors, that it was widespread or even common: we have no evidence to support such an argument. We have comparatively few cases where Venice, or anyone else, condemned Venetian ambassadors for their behaviour.

This chapter has shown that despite the evident diversity of Venetian diplomacy, we can still make generalisations about the organisation of Venetian missions and the behaviour of the ambassador. All or most missions had to be elected and commissioned, all ambassadors had to arrange an entourage and travel to their final destination. The second part of the chapter has considered the place of the Venetian ambassador in the context of the historical debate over the myth of Venice. The ambassadors employed by Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century were not perfect; they were subject to the same temptations, laziness, selfishness as any other man. On the other hand, it is clear that Venetian ambassadors were generally keen to serve the state as diplomats. For whatever reason a 'mythology' was created; Venetians ambassadors were praised by foreigners, and the size and ostentation of their entourages was frequently reported. As we shall see in the following chapters, a crucial part of the 'myth' - that the men employed as ambassadors by Venice were some of the most important, respected and learned in the whole of the Republic- was very close to reality.



*Plate 1: Pietro Lombardo, Monument to Doge Pasquale Malipiero,
SS. Giovanni e Paolo (postcard)*



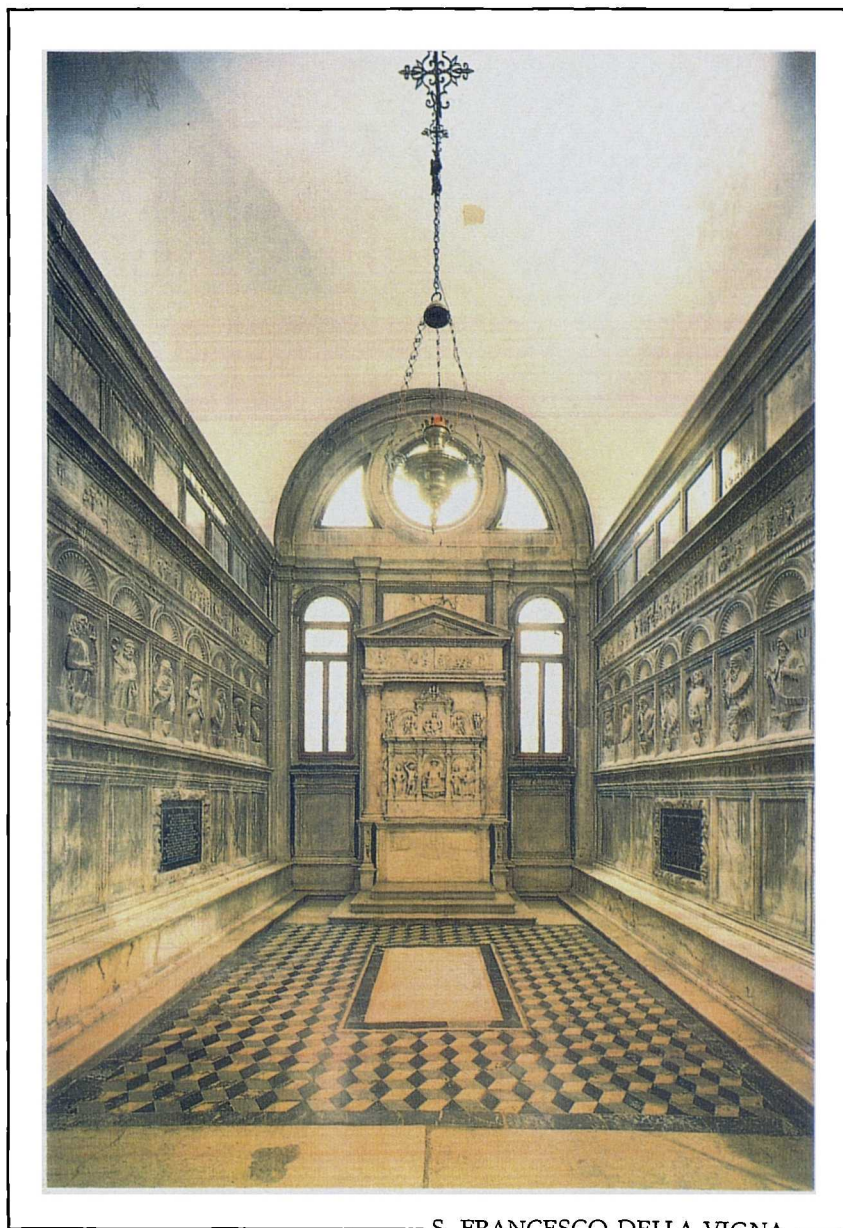
*Plate 2: Monument to Zaccaria and Ermolao Barbaro,
San Francesco della Vigna (own photograph)*



Plate 3: Gentile Bellini, Portrait of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo,
Museo Correr, Venice (postcard)

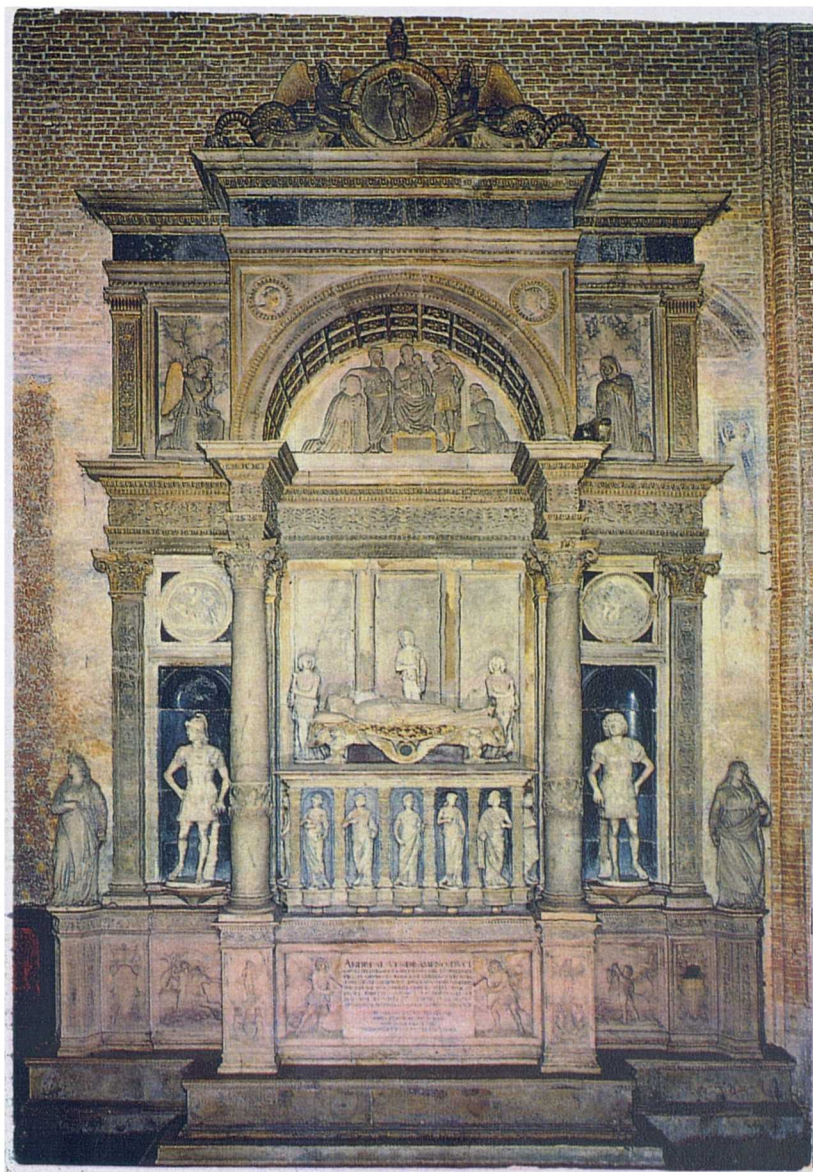


Plate 4: Pietro Lombardo, Monument to Doge Pietro Mocenigo
SS. Giovanni e Paolo (postcard)



S. FRANCESCO DELLA VIGNA

*Plate 5: Tulio and Sante Lombardo, Badoer and Giustiniani Chapel
San Francesco della Vigna (postcard)*



*Plate 6: Tulio Lombardo, Monument to Doge Andrea Vendramin
SS. Giovanni e Paolo (postcard)*

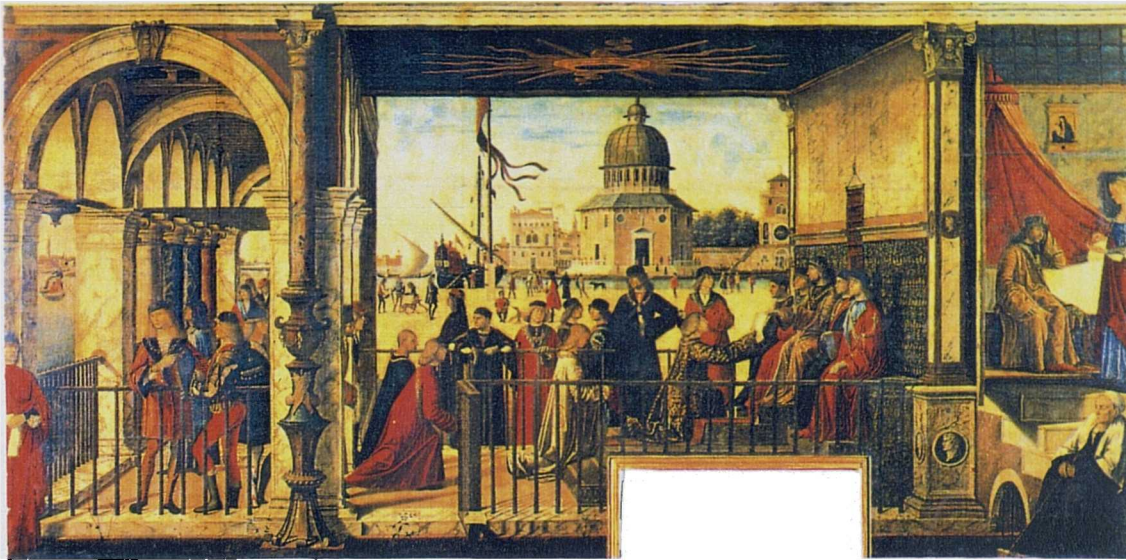


Plate 7: Vittore Carpaccio, *Arrival of the British Ambassadors at the Court of Brittany*,
Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice (postcard)



Plate 8: Vittore Carpaccio, *Funeral of Saint Ursula*,
Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice (postcard)

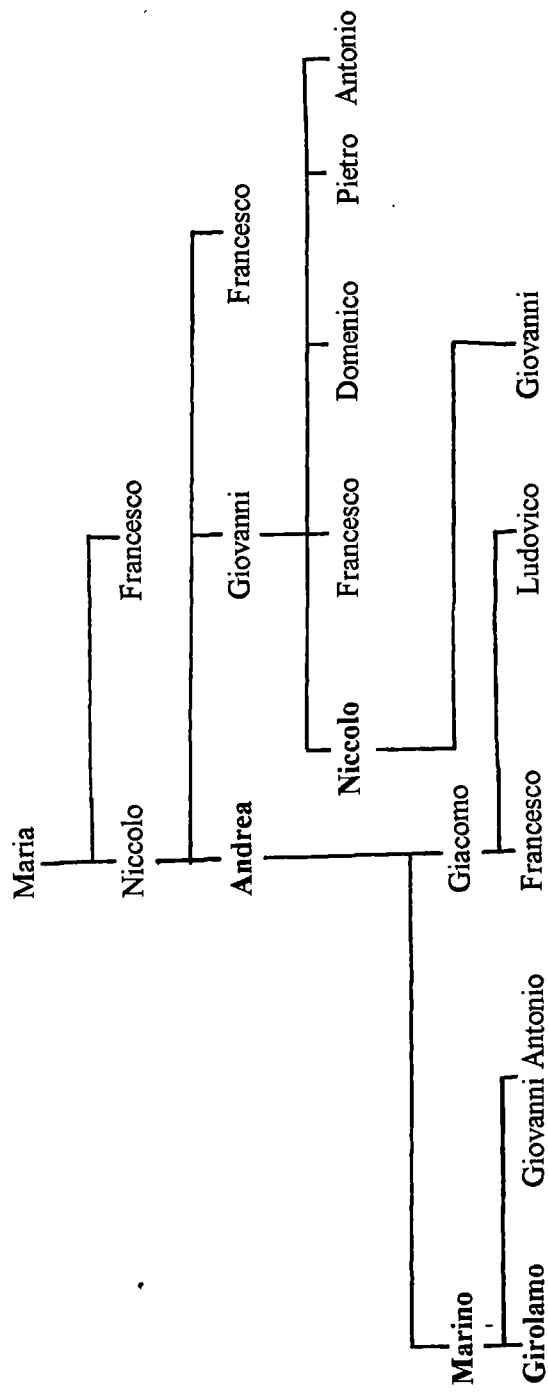


Plate 9: Family tree of Lion family (from Barbaro vol. V, p. 253)- ambassadors in core group are indicated in bold

CHAPTER FOUR

THE VENETIAN FAMILY AND THE AMBASSADOR

We have seen that diplomatic office in the second half of the fifteenth century was dominated by a relatively small group of patrician men. These few individuals served upon a disproportionate number of diplomatic missions between 1454 and 1494. In this chapter, I consider whether we can posit any link between these individuals and the families and clans from which they came.¹ I will ask whether a clique of patricians clans in Venice held between them the lion's share of diplomatic office in this period.

This is a particularly important issue in the light of the work done by Stanley Chojnacki on fourteenth-century patrician clans. He has shown that political power was concentrated in the hands of about a quarter of patrician clans in Venice; this quarter dominated major political office between them. In many cases, the same men who were politically prominent in this period were also from some of the richest clans in Venice.² Furthermore, he has shown that the wealthiest and most politically important clans in Venice were also the ones with the greatest number of members; he concludes that the size of the clan was critical in its financial and political success.³

¹ For the definitions of these terms see S. Chojnacki, 'Patrician women in early Renaissance Venice', *Studies in the Renaissance*, vol. 21 (1974), p.179. For the purposes of this study, by 'family', I mean immediate relations- parents, children and their extended families (brothers and uncles etc). The word 'lineage' I use to denote a kin group, whose understanding of their relationship to one another was formed by their knowledge of common genealogy and ancestors. The term 'clan' is used to indicate a kin group with a shared surname whose common ancestry may be too ancient to be traced accurately.

² Note that Chojnacki's statements concerning wealth are based on the *estimo* of 1379; while this is a well-used document, it is not without inaccuracies. For a good discussion of it as a source see Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, vol. 2, pp. 488-92

³ S. Chojnacki, 'In search of the Venetian patriciate: families and factions in the fourteenth century', in J. Hale, *Renaissance Venice* (London 1973), p. 65, 68. It has also been suggested that the greater the size of the family, the more certain was its future. Large families could survive demographic

Chojnacki's argument has cast light upon the way that political office was distributed among Venetian nobles and places the patrician clan firmly in the centre of the debate. In this chapter, I show that the same principle cannot be applied to the way that diplomatic office was allotted in the second half of the fifteenth century. While my evidence appears to show that a small number of Venetian *case* monopolised ambassadorial posts, closer scrutiny of the evidence reveals that the pattern of distribution of diplomatic office was rather more complex. Belonging to a particular clan did not automatically lead to diplomatic advancement (although belonging to a prestigious *casa* may have helped). My evidence shows that it was a group of individuals who dominated diplomatic office; this group was influenced far more by its *family*, than by its *clan* connections.

Therefore, in seeking to discover how these individuals dominated office-holding, we need to look beyond the *case* of Venice. While diplomatic office was not awarded along *clan* lines in the second half of the *Quattrocento*, it was profoundly influenced by *family*. I suggest two ways in which the family could affect one's prospects as an ambassador. First, the large number of ambassadors who were related to others in the core group testifies to the benefits (in terms of experience and influence) of having close members of one's family employed as ambassadors. Second, the wealth of a family could profoundly affect the diplomatic career of an individual; having access to personal and family financial resources was often essential in holding diplomatic office. In this chapter, then, I start by briefly considering the historiography surrounding the Venetian patriciate and family. The second part of the chapter begins by focusing upon the clan relations of the ambassadors in the core group. It concludes by considering their direct family ties and by emphasising the importance of the 'family connection' for the *Quattrocento* Venetian ambassador.

crisis, while smaller families were less secure, see D. Romano, *Patricians and Popolani* (Baltimore and London 1987), pp. 49-50

PART A: INTRODUCTION: PATRICIANS AND THE FAMILY IN VENETIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The composition of the Venetian noble class by the second half of the fifteenth century was a product of legislation of the late thirteenth century and subsequent events which effectively closed the membership of the *Maggior Consiglio* and thus defined the noble class. This so-called '*serrata*' restricted noble status to families who were politically important in the late thirteenth century; it ensured that only those who already sat (or their fathers or grandfathers had sat) in the *Maggior Consiglio* would be accepted as members of the noble class. Aristocratic status was therefore made hereditary. This restriction and moulding of the patriciate class was not complete by the end of the thirteenth century, but continued throughout the *Trecento* and *Quattrocento*.⁴ Legislation in the sixteenth century defined noble status further, particularly with the establishment of the *Libro d'Oro*, in which noble births were officially registered.⁵

As we saw in chapter three, the patrician class have been seen to perform an essential role in the myth of Venice.⁶ According to the myth, the patrician class was selfless in its service to the state, honest, loyal, and untroubled by the hostility that commonly beset governing groups in society; in short it contributed to the mythic stability of the Venetian

⁴ Recent research suggests that the patriciate class was evolving throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century. See J. E. Law, 'Age qualifications and the Venetian constitution: the case of the Capello family', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 39 (1971), p. 136; S. Chojnacki, 'Political adulthood in fifteenth century Venice' *American Historical Review*, vol. 91 (1986) p. 795. David Chambers has argued that after the *serrata*, there were between one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and fifty families represented in the *Maggior Consiglio*, see Chambers, *Imperial Age of Venice*, p. 75; on the *serrata* see also F. C. Lane, 'The enlargement of the Great Council of Venice', in J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale, *Florilegium historale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (Toronto and Buffalo 1971), pp. 236-74.

⁵ Chojnacki, 'In search of the Venetian patriciate', p. 47 and p 58; see also Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility*, pp. 15-18 on the exclusivity of the patriciate class; Chambers, *Imperial Age of Venice*, pp.75-76; Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, p. 28; S. Chojnacki, 'Nobility, women and the state: marriage regulation in Venice, 1420-1535 in T. Dean and K.J.P. Lowe (eds.), *Marriage in Italy 1300-1650* (Cambridge 1998), pp. 140-42

⁶ See chapter 3, part B., pp. 93-113

political system. We dealt with the first issue of patrician ambassador's loyalty to the state and honesty in the last chapter. In terms of the latter point concerning the unity of the patrician class, the reality was, of course, that the Venetian patrician class was divided on a number of grounds.⁷ These grounds included the difference between the rich and poor *case* in Venice; the gap between the economic resources of different families could sometimes be quite significant.⁸ Divisions also existed along generational lines; the behaviour and attitudes of young patricians sometimes seemed at odds with that of the older patrician men in government.⁹

One other division in the patrician class was the difference between the older clans of Venice and the new, the *case vecchie* and the *case nuove* respectively.¹⁰ The origins of the older noble clans lay in the earliest days of the Venetian republic, while the new were those whose improved fortunes and political experience by the late thirteenth century meant that they were included in the noble class in the *serrata* of 1297, although their political ascendancy did not date far before that period. The *case vecchie* included the Contarini, Corner, Dandolo, Giustiniani, Gradenigo, Morosini and Sanuto clans, while the newer families were those such as the Barbarigo, Donato, Loredan, Mocenigo, Venier.¹¹ Certainly by the fifteenth century, the new families of Venice were on a fairly equitable political standing with the old. Every doge in the two centuries before 1382 came from one of the *case vecchie* (except one); after this date however, every doge until 1612 was a member of the *case nuove*.¹²

⁷ The most useful introduction to this is Chojnacki, 'In search of the Venetian patriciate'.

⁸ See my comments below on the economic resources of the men in the core group, p. 145-52

⁹ For further discussion of the involvement of the *giovane* in government, see chapter 5, part B.

¹⁰ Although note that that some families in Venice did not fit obviously into either of these categories—see Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p. 92-96.

¹¹ Chojnacki, 'In search of the Venetian patriciate', p. 50

¹² This group who dominated the office of doge in this period were a sub-group of the 'new' clans, the *casa ducali*. See Chojnacki, 'Political adulthood', p. 794; Chojnacki, 'Nobility, women and the state', pp. 130-131

At the heart of this patrician class was the family. The Venetian family appears a somewhat complex structure, incorporating a series of interlocking kin relationships. At its simplest level, however, the immediate family (parents and their children) often lived in a household together with some of their extended kin. Often they lived *in fraterna*; brothers kept a common set of ledgers, shared their assets and incomes and divided up household expenditure among them.¹³ The extension of this arrangement into business life was the *fraterna*. Venetian law allowed relatives living in the same household and doing business together to become formal partners.¹⁴

Families were connected to a far larger network of kinship or lineage, and were grouped together into clans.¹⁵ These were kin groups whose common ancestry (usually indicated by a shared family name) was sometimes too ancient to be traced accurately. These clans varied in size considerably, but within most there were distinctly separate branches or *rami* of the family. Members of different branches of the same clan or *casa* were sometimes only very distantly related. Indeed, some branches might be so distinct and long standing as to appear different families altogether.¹⁶ As a result, different nuclear families within the same clan groups might vary considerably in the wealth and property they possessed and might live in entirely different parishes or even *sestieri* of Venice.¹⁷ The social spheres in which these different kin groupings met varied. Whereas the nuclear and extended family operated in the household or *fraterna*, relationships between larger kin

¹³ Davis, *A Venetian family and its fortune*, p. 7

¹⁴ F.C. Lane, 'Family apprenticeships and joint ventures', in *Venice and History, the collected papers of Frederick C. Lane* (Baltimore 1966), p. 37

¹⁵ Chojnacki, 'Political adulthood', p. 795

¹⁶ Chojnacki, 'In search of the Venetian patriciate', p. 59

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 60

grouping were mediated through meetings at the *Maggior Consiglio*, through patronage of particular institutions, or through common property and ancestral homes.¹⁸

The size of the Venetian *case* differed considerably. Robert Finlay has shown that there were approximately 2700 adult male patricians in 1527, belonging to one hundred and thirty-four *case*, about 1600 of whom attended the *Maggior Consiglio*. Clans with more than forty members made up about 45 percent of the patriciate. These *case grandi* included, in order of size, the Contarini (with one hundred and seventy-two patrician male members), the Morosini (with one hundred and two), Malipiero, Marcello, Venier, Donato, Michiel, Priuli, Bragadin, Querini, Loredan, Trevisan, Molin, Giorgio, Giustiniani, Corner, Pisani, Dolfen, and Bembo. Thirty clans (59 percent of the patriciate class) had over thirty members each. Finlay has also noted that some of the *case* with up to seventeen members did not compete for high office- these included the Cocco and da Mezzo clans.¹⁹

The importance of kin and familial relationships to patrician social and political life has been a matter of some controversy; in particular, historians have debated how far the relationships between clan and kin groupings affected political and social advancement. Despite the complexity of kin relationships and the differing fortunes of individuals within the same clan, Chojnacki has stressed that the *case* in Venice was a significant social unit. Clans could sometimes be close, he has argued; there was often a sense of community between different branches of the same *case* in the *Trecento*.²⁰ Finlay has also shown how kin relationships were of key importance in attaining political success; even quite distant kin relations could prove to be lucrative.²¹ Lineage, he has argued, was reinforced by

¹⁸ Romano, *Patricians and popolani*, pp. 41, 45

¹⁹ Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (London 1980) pp. 83-84; it is interesting, though, that both these families have members who were ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century, see the biographical profiles of Giacomo da Mezzo and Niccolo Cocco in appendix 1.

²⁰ Chojnacki, 'In search of the Venetian patriciate', pp. 60-62

²¹ Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p. 84

Venetian legislation; only one member of a *casa* could sit on a branch of the *Procuratia* or *Collegio*, and only one could sit in the *Signoria* or Ten at one time. However, members of the same family were often to be found at the same time in the important political positions.²² Finlay has noted, for example, that in July 1500, five members of the Tron family held office; Antonio was a ducal councillor, Filippo sat in the *Collegio*, Francesco was a member of the *Consiglio dei Dieci*, Pietro was a treasurer at the Rialto, and Ludovico was a *sindaco* in Dalmatia. Finlay has also provided a similar example for the Capello family in 1510.²³

It had been assumed that Venetian patrician society was a patrilineal society, that the truly significant kin relationships were those which were based upon patrilineal descent, from father to son. However, families established networks of social relations with one another outside male lines, usually through the medium of marriage.²⁴ Marriage was indeed the principal way the Venetian patrician family maintained and extended its own political and economic interests. Finlay has argued that the relationships a family formed through marriages were of 'enormous significance'. The potential spouse of a woman was judged on

²² *ibid.*, p. 85

²³ *ibid.*, pp. 85-86; see also B. Arbel, 'The reign of Caterina Corner (1473-1489) as a family affair', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., vol. 26 (1993), pp. 83-84. Arbel indicates that while constraints were placed upon the political dominance of certain families within Venice, the Corner in Cyprus were able to exercise familial patronage more freely outside the state than would have been possible in Venice.

²⁴ S. Chojnacki, 'Kinship ties and young patricians in fifteenth century Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly* 38 (1985), pp. 241-43; for the social and political position of bachelors see his article 'Subaltern patriarchs. Patrician bachelors in Renaissance Venice', in C.L. Lees (ed.) *Medieval Masculinities. Regarding Men in the Middle Ages, Medieval Cultures*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis, London 1994), pp. 73-90; see also D.E. Queller and T.F. Madden, 'Father of the bride: fathers, daughters and dowries in late medieval and early Renaissance Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly* vol. XLVI, no. 4 (1993), pp. 685-711; Finlay has explored the importance of marriage and other family ties in Andrea Gritti's election to the dogeship- R. Finlay, 'Politics and the family in Renaissance Venice: the election of Doge Andrea Gritti', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. vol. 2 (1978), p. 110; see also S. Chojnacki's article 'Daughters and oligarchs gender and the Renaissance state' in J.C. Brown and R.C. Davis (eds.) *Gender and society in Renaissance Italy* (London and New York 1998), pp. 63-86

the merits of his family's wealth and business connections and upon its political prominence.²⁵

How important, though, were the kin relations gained by marriage to the political and social advancement of the patrician man?²⁶ Stanley Chojnacki has looked at the records of the *Balla D'Oro* to discover who was sponsoring young nobles to register in the *Barbarella* in the fifteenth century (which allowed them entry in to the *Maggior Consiglio* at age twenty, rather than twenty-five). On one hand, he discovered that sponsors were not simply drawn from patrilineal kin, but also from the matrilineal kin of patrician men. On the other hand, he found comparatively little participation of affines in sponsorships to the *Balla D'Oro* ²⁷

The emphasis on patrilineal and matrilineal kin as instrumental in political advancement, however, has been questioned by J.E. Everett and Donald Queller.²⁸ They have looked at nominations of individuals in the Great Council between 1383-87, expecting to find patterns of election based on family-factional lines. They in fact discovered that kin-group factions had little discernible influence on the processes of nomination and election. Neither did they find any evidence of patron-client relations between particular families playing a major role in these nominations.²⁹ They concluded that nominations to political office in the late fourteenth century were not drawn simply along clan lines, but rather were influenced by a number of factors, such as neighbourliness and friendship, or the payment of a debt. Patricians, they suggest, were unable to trust their family, kin or even patrons for

²⁵ Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 81-82; see also Chojnacki, 'Nobility, women and the state', p. 139, 151

²⁶ Chojnacki, 'Patrician women', p. 180

²⁷ Chojnacki, 'Kinship ties', p. 250 and 255-56; for further discussion of the importance of affines in family relations see Queller and Madden, 'Father of the bride', pp. 701-702; for an example of the involvement of affines in the election of a doge, see Finlay, 'Politics and the family'. I return to discuss the *Balla D'Oro* in more detail in chapter five, part B.

²⁸ J.E. Everett and D.E Queller, 'Family, faction and politics in early Renaissance Venice: elections in the Great Council, 1383-87', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol. 14 (1993), pp. 1-31

political advancement, and therefore had to court all their patrician colleagues as possible allies.³⁰

Kin and family relationships, then, must have been significant for patricians wishing to attain political office in Venice, although patricians perhaps could not automatically rely on family support. Queller and Everett are surely right in saying that in order to advance one's political career, an individual had to treat *all* patricians as potential supporters. However, logically, a patrician man would have looked first to his family and kin for assistance. If this is true in the political arena, we might expect something similar in the preferment of diplomatic office in Venice: as we shall see later, holding diplomatic office was one possible way to extend one's career in Venice, political or otherwise. Were contacts forged through kin and marriage, which appear to have been significant in the bestowal of political office, also of assistance in attaining posts in the diplomatic sphere?

PART B: VENETIAN AMBASSADORS AND THE FAMILY

One of the most important issues, then, is to discover how diplomatic office was conferred in the second half of the fifteenth century, and to analyse the role of family and kin in this process. This point is a critical one and yet is hampered by deficiencies in the source material available to us. The most obvious way to link the holding of ambassadorial office with kin is by looking at the sponsors or nominators for diplomatic office. As we saw in the last chapter, diplomats were selected by nomination and election rather than by scrutiny; reconstructing these nominations would significantly enhance our understanding of the way kinship contributed (if at all) in the holding of diplomatic office. Unfortunately, I

²⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 12-14

³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 17-20

have not found any surviving evidence concerning the sponsors of diplomatic office for the fifteenth century.

In this chapter, then, it is necessary to consider less direct evidence. I do this first by identifying the clans from which the ‘core group’ Venetian ambassadors came in this period and by considering the proportion of diplomatic offices each of these clans held. I go on to investigate whether we can link *types* of diplomatic offices with particular clans. From this analysis, we can discover whether certain clans in Venice dominated, either quantitatively or qualitatively, diplomatic office in Venice. In the final part of the chapter, I look at the direct family relationships between the men in the core group. The surprisingly large number of ambassadors who were related to one another either through blood or marriage indicates the importance of *family* over *clan* contacts for the prospective diplomat in the second half of the *Quattrocento*.³¹

Clan and kinship ties

My data pertaining to ambassadors and the clans from which they came highlight four principal issues. First, a small number of *case* do appear to have held a disproportionate number of ambassadorial offices between and including the years 1454 and 1494. Second, there were a large number of patrician clans in Venice who had no more than a couple of their members serving as ambassadors in these years and who between them held only a small proportion of the number of diplomatic posts between 1454 and

³¹ Much of the following discussion is based upon analysis of the prosopographical database. We have already noted that there are limitations in this sort of statistical approach, for more details see chapter 1, part B. It should be noted that the core group provides us only with a snapshot of Venetian ambassadors and diplomatic practice. There will of course be ambassadors who only held posts before 1454 and after 1494 whose inclusion in the study would certainly alter the statistics I provide.

1494. Third, some clans (such as the Contarini) held many ambassadorial posts in this period *purely* because of their size; the seemingly large numbers of ambassadors from these *case* was merely proportional to the size of the clan group. Finally, there appears to be no direct correlation between the prestige, type or destination of the diplomatic office and the particular *clan* of the ambassador.

Figure 6: Clans of Venetian ambassadors 1454-94 (the number of ambassadors with the same surname is given after name)

Badoer	1	Dolfen	1	Minio	1
Barbarigo	3	Donato	5	Mocenigo	2
Barbaro	4	Duodo	1	Molin	1
Barbo	2	Emo	2	Moro	3
Bassadona	1	Ferro	1	Morosini	5
Bembo	1	Foscari	2	Pasqualigo	2
Bernardo	1	Foscarini	2	Pesaro	3
Boldù	2	Gabriel	1	Pisani	3
Bollani	3	Giorgio	3	Priuli	2
Bonzi	1	Giustiniani	3	Sanuto	3
Bragadin	2	Gradenigo	2	Soranzo	4
Capello	5	Gritti	1	Trevisan	4
Cocco	1	Lando	2	Tron	2
Contarini	10	Lion	4	Valier	1
Comer	2	Loredan	4	Vendramin	2
Correr	1	Malipiero	1	Venier	2
Da Canal	2	Marcello	3	Vettori	3
Da Mosto	1	Marino	1	Viaro	1
Dandolo	2	Mezzo da	1	Zen	1
Diedo	2	Michiel	3		

However, I believe that the core group I am using is small enough to be workable in the time available, and large enough to be produce some meaningful conclusions.

Figure six above provides the name of the clan (or family name) of the ambassadors in the core group and the number of ambassadors with that family name who served the Venetian state between 1454-94. It shows that Venetian ambassadors *all* came from patrician families; they were from a total of fifty-nine *case*.³²

Figure six shows that most of the prestigious families in Venice are represented; both 'old' and 'new' families are present on the list in fairly equal parts; there are at least fifteen clans from both the *case vecchie*³³ and the *case nuove*.³⁴ In addition, the number of clans indicated in figure six (fifty-nine) is less than half of the total number of patrician *case* active in Venice in this period; it is worth bearing in mind that Marco Barbaro's *Arbori dei Patriti Veneti* includes the family trees of about two hundred and twenty-nine patrician families in Venice, one hundred and twenty-three of whom had members who were politically active in the second half of the fifteenth century.³⁵ If we look back to the list given above of the nineteen *case grandi* in the early sixteenth century, we see that every clan is represented in figure six, apart from the Querini.³⁶ Another exception worth noting here is that we have no representatives whatsoever from the powerful Grimani clan.³⁷

³² Note that the small number of *cittadini* ambassadors are being treated as something of an exception; see chapter 2, pp. 61-67.

³³ These are the Badoer, Bembo, Bragadin, Contarini, Corner, Dandolo, Dolfin, Giorgio, Giustiniani, Gradenigo, Michiel, Morosini, Sanuto, Soranzo, Zen.

³⁴ These are the Barbarigo, Donato, Foscari, Gritti, Lando, Loredan, Malipiero, Marcello, Mocenigo, Moro, Priuli, Trevisan, Tron, Vendramin, Venier.

³⁵ Barbaro; the approximate figure of 123 has been calculated by including every clan noted in Barbaro who has at least one male member who was politically active between 1454 and 1494 (that is, holding posts in Venetian government or on the *terraferma*).

³⁶ Although note that Antonio Querini was reported as ambassador to Albania in 1459 by Pietro Gradenigo- because this position does not appear in any primary sources (including *Senato Secreto*) it is likely that Querini was *provveditore* to Albania. See Gradenigo, f. 320v and the note at the end of appendix 1, p. 376.

³⁷ Although do note that members of both these clans may have held diplomatic posts in the fifteenth century, but not between the years 1454 and 1494, which explains their exclusion from the study. See the conclusion for further discussion about those patricians who were politically successful in Venice, but who never held diplomatic posts, pp. 229-30.

We can surmise, then, that most (although not all) of the prestigious and largest Venetian *case* had at least one member of their family who served as an ambassador between 1454 and 1494. We can also say that Venetian ambassadors in this period were drawn from quite a compact pool of Venetian families, a fairly equal number of whom were 'new' and 'old'. The proportion of ambassadors in each clan group is more clearly indicated by figure seven below. Here we see that a large percentage of these families had just one member who served as an ambassador between 1454 and 1494. Only a very small number (7 percent of the total number of clans from figure six) had five or more of their members serving as an ambassador in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Figure 7: Number of ambassadors in each clan

GROUP	NAME OF FAMILY	NO. OF FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE%**
<i>Group A (five ambassadors or more)</i>	Capello, Contarini, Donato, Morosini	4	7
<i>Group B (four ambassadors)</i>	Barbaro, Lion, Loredan, Soranzo, Trevisan	5	8
<i>Group C (three ambassadors)</i>	Barbarigo, Bollani, Giorgio, Giustiniani, Marcello, Michiel, Moro, Pesaro, Pisani, Sanuto, Vettore	11	19
<i>Group D (two ambassadors)</i>	Barbo, Boldù, Bragadin, Corner, Da Canal, Dandolo, Diedo, Emo, Foscari, Foscarini, Gradenigo, Lando, Mocenigo, Pasqualigo, Priuli, Tron, Vendramin, Venier	18	30
<i>Group E (one ambassador)</i>	Badoer, Bassadona, Bembo, Bernardo, Bonzi, Cocco, Correr, Da Mosto, Dolfin, Duodo, Ferro, Gabriel, Gritti, Malipiero, Marino, Mezzo Da, Minio, Molin, Valier, Viaro, Zen	21	36

*Figure 8:*³⁸ *Numbers of diplomatic posts held by ambassadors in each clan between 1454 and 1494**

GROUP	NAME OF FAMILY (with no. of diplomatic posts held in brackets after each name)	NO. OF POSTS	PERCENTAGE%**
<i>Group A (20 posts and over)</i>	Giustiniani (20), Morosini (20)	40	10
<i>Group B (15-19 posts)</i>	Barbaro (17), Donato (18), Contarini (15)	50	13
<i>Group C (10-14 posts)</i>	Bembo (10), Bollani (10), Capello (10), Diedo (10), Foscari (10), Badoer (13), Emo (13), Pisani (13), Trevisan (14)	103	27
<i>Group D (5-9 posts)</i>	Barbarigo (9), Boldu (5), Corner (5), Da Canal (9), Giorgio (6), Gritti (6), Lando (7), Lion (8), Loredan (7), Mezzo Da (6), Michiel (9), Molin (5), Pasqualigo (6), Pesaro (5), Priuli (6), Soranzo (9), Vendramin (7), Vettori (9)	124	32
<i>Group E (4 posts and under)</i>	Barbo (4), Bassadona (1), Bernardo (1), Bonzi (1), Bragadin (3), Cocco (2), Correr (4), Da Mosto (1), Dandolo (4), Dolfin (1), Duodo (1), Ferro (2), Foscari (2), Gabriel (4), Gradenico (4), Malipiero (1), Marcello (4), Marino (2), Minio (1), Mocenigo (2), Moro (3), Sanuto (3), Tron (4), Valier (1), Venier (4), Viaro (3), Zen (2)	65	17

* Note that ambassadors were employed on three hundred and eighty-two ambassadorial posts between 1454 and 1494 (this includes a small number of embassies which began in 1453 and ended in 1454 and some which started in 1494 and ended a year later).

** Out of fifty-nine families

³⁸ For the *total* number of diplomatic posts held by each clan (including before and after 1454), see Figure G in appendix 3, p. 403

Figure 9: Ambassadors in obedientia 1454-94, with number of times post was held given in brackets after name

Triadano Gritti (4)	Bernardo Giustiniani (1)
Girolamo Barbarigo (2)	Marino Lion (1)
Vettore Capello (2)	Antonio Loredan (1)
Ludovico Foscari (2)	Giacomo Loredan (1)
Andrea Lion (2)	Pasquale Malipiero (1)
Sebastiano Badoer (1)	Pietro Mocenigo (1)
Paolo Barbo (1)	Ettore Pasqualigo (1)
Bernardo Bembo (1)	Nicolò Soranzo (1)
Ludovico Bragadin (1)	Zaccaria Trevisan (1)
Marco Corner (1)	Nicolò Tron (1)
Pietro Diedo (1)	Matteo Vettore (1)
Cristoforo Duodo (1)	

What is apparent from figures seven and eight is that members from five clans in Venice (the Giustiniani, Morosini, Barbaro, Donato and Contarini- over 8 percent of the total number of clans represented in Figure six) between them served on nearly a quarter (23 percent) of the total number of ambassadorial posts held between 1454 and 1494. Equally interesting is the fact that 14 clans in Venice (those from Groups A-C from Figure eight- 24 percent of the total number of clans) served on half the diplomatic posts which were held between 1454 and 1494 (50 percent).³⁹ At the other end of the scale, twenty-seven clans (Group E in figure eight) out of the total of fifty-nine clans (46 percent) served on only 17 percent of the ambassadorial posts held between 1454 and 1494. The majority of these clans were also those who were placed into Groups E and F in figure seven; that is to say that they had two or less clan members serving as ambassadors between 1454 and 1494. In other words, we can see just fourteen clan groups, a fraction of the number of *case* in Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century, held half the diplomatic posts during this period. Diplomatic office, then, was not dispersed evenly throughout the patrician class

³⁹ Obviously, figure six does not include every clan in Venice- just those whose members served as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century.

in Venice; many of the diplomatic posts awarded were the preserve of a small group of clans.

However, if we look more closely into the detail behind these statistics, it becomes clear that this is too simplistic an interpretation. Figure eight shows that members of the Giustiniani and Morosini *case* between them served on about a tenth of the ambassadorial posts held in the second half of the fifteenth century, a very large proportion. Yet, as we see from figure seven, the Giustiniani clan only had three members who served as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century. How then, did they succeed in holding such a large share of the diplomatic offices of the second half of the fifteenth century?

The answer lies with the three individuals in the Giustiniani clan who served as ambassadors. Everyone one of them held a large, perhaps exceptional, number of posts, both political and diplomatic in the course of their entire careers and two of them held many of these posts between 1454 and 1494. Here we should note that holding a large number of diplomatic posts did not necessarily infer that an individual was 'successful' or even competent; it was, of course, possible and even probable to attain offices through means other than merit (for instance patronage, payment of debts, calling in of favours).⁴⁰ Equally, those who held fewer offices were not necessarily less 'successful' or competent.

Orsato Giustiniani held ten diplomatic posts and a host of political offices in his lifetime, many of which were held before 1454 and are therefore outside the sphere of this thesis.⁴¹ What we are interested in here, however, are those posts he held after this date,

⁴⁰ See my comments in the conclusion as to why particular individuals may have been elected as ambassadors, pp. 228.

⁴¹ For Orsato Giustiniani's career, see his profile in appendix 1. For his diplomatic posts see *Gradenigo*, f. 140r and *Stampalia* f. 177v (Emperor 1438 with Francesco Bon); Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane* vol. 2, pp. 56-57 (Ferrara 1436-37) *Gradenigo* f. 74v (ambassador to Emperor 1442); SS vol. 17, f. 3r (commission to Francesco Sforza 1446); SS vol. 14 f. 4v-8r (mentioned as ambassador to captain-general at sea 1448); SS vol. 18, f. 153r, 162v (mentioned as ambassador to Crema 1450); SS vol. 19, f. 115r-116r (commission to Emperor 1452); SS vol. 19, f. 217r

which number just three.⁴² Francesco Giustiniani, on the other hand, held seven diplomatic posts between 1464 and 1477.⁴³ Bernardo Giustiniani, of course, was one of the foremost humanist politician-diplomats of the later fifteenth century and held ten posts between 1454 and 1494.⁴⁴ In other words, the high number of diplomatic offices held by the Giustiniani clan was essentially a product of the diplomatic careers of just two individuals.

A similar pattern emerges for the Morosini clan. Figure seven shows that the large number of diplomatic offices the clan held was divided amongst five individuals. If we look in detail how these offices were dispersed, Barbone and Giustiniani Morosini held just one diplomatic post in the period 1454 to 1494 (although they held others outside of these dates).⁴⁵ Pietro only held three posts after 1453, and Marcantonio just four.⁴⁶ On the other hand, Paolo Morosini, whose period of diplomatic activity spanned from 1451 to 1476, held eleven ambassadorial posts between 1454 and the 1470s, more than double the rest of the offices held by all the other Morosinis put together.⁴⁷

In the Trevisan clan, the high number of diplomatic posts held in the second half of the fifteenth century was spread more equally among three prestigious diplomats. Paolo and

(commission to Rome 1453); SS vol. 20, f. 189v (commission to Diet of Mantua and Rome 1459); Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. 2, pp. 56-57 (Rome 1461)

⁴² Note that figure 8 gives the proportion of posts held by the different clans between 1454 and 1494—in this figure, then, Orsato Giustiniani is noted as only holding two diplomatic posts (as he that is the number of offices he held between these two dates).

⁴³ For Francesco Giustiniani's diplomatic career see his profile in appendix one and SS vol. 22, f. 3v (commission to Hungary 1464); SS vol. 22, f. 107v (mentioned as ambassador to King of Aragon 1465); SS vol. 23, f. 149r (commission to Emperor Frederick III 1469); SS vol. 24, f. 42r (commission to Rome 1469); Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. 3, p. 365 (Milan 1470); Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. 3, p. 365 (Hungary 1473); Gradenigo, f. 140r (King of Aragon 1474)

⁴⁴ The best source for Giustiniani's career is Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*

⁴⁵ Barbone Morosini was ambassador to Rome and Naples 1455-46 (for commission see SS vol. 20, f. 79v-80v); Giustiniani Morosini was ambassador to the Marquis of Monferrato in 1483 (for commission see SS vol. 31, f. 73v-74r)

⁴⁶ For Pietro Morosini see SS vol. 19, f. 176v (commission to Duke of Savoy and Marquis of Monferrato); SS vol. 20, f. 48r (mentioned as ambassador to Modena 1454); SS vol. 21, f. 52v (mentioned as ambassador to Brescia 1461); SS vol. 23, f. 46r (commission to Rome 1467). For Marcantonio Morosini see profiles and King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 410-11

⁴⁷ For Paolo Morosini's career see profiles and King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 412-13

Zaccaria both held a significant number of diplomatic posts, while Domenico Trevisan served on an exceptional number of embassies, although many were after 1494. He served on six missions before and including 1494 and six or seven missions after that date.⁴⁸ It should also be noted that the number of posts the Trevisan clan held may have been even larger as we cannot be sure on how many embassies Benedetto Trevisan di Francesco served, due to the presence of close homonyms.⁴⁹

It seems to be the case with the Giustiniani, Morosini, and Trevisan clans, then, that the large share of diplomatic offices they each held was due to the fact that certain individuals in the *casa* held such a large number of diplomatic offices. This assumption appears to be supported by the example of the Contarini clan. As a clan, they had more members who served as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century than any other and made it into Group B in Figure eight. Their nine members who served as ambassadors between 1454 and 1494 only held fifteen embassies altogether between these two dates. This is because eight of the ten individuals only served on one embassy, as far as we are aware. Francesco Contarini, son of Nicolò served on just two embassies. Zaccaria Contarini, like Domenico Trevisan, held a number of diplomatic posts in his lifetime, but

⁴⁸ For Zaccaria Trevisan see King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 437-39; For Paolo Trevisan see SS vol. 34, f. 17v (mentioned as ambassador to Mantua 1489), Collegio, (1et sec), reg. 6, f. 19r (mentioned as ambassador to Milan 1490-91); SS vol. 34, f. 210v-211r (commission to the King of Aragon 1493-94). For Domenico Trevisan see Gradenigo f. 37r (ambassador to Rome 1483); SS vol. 33, f. 29r-v (commission to King of the Romans 1486); Collegio (1et sec), F.1, f. 217r (mentioned as ambassador to Milan 1486-89); SS vol. 33, f. 179r (mentioned as ambassador to Rome 1488-99); SS vol. 34, f. 161r-162r (commission to Turkey 1493); SS vol. 35, f. 53v-55r (commission to France 1494-95); SS vol. 36, f. 169v-172r (commission to Spain and Portugal 1497); SS vol. 38, f. 178v-180r (commission to Louis XII 1501-02); Barbaro VII/123 (ambassador to Emperor 1504); SS vol. 40, f. 105r (commission in obed to Julius II 1505); SS vol. 41, f. 28v (commission to France 1507); SS vol. 42, f. 140v (commission to Rome 1510); vol. 44, f. 103v-105v (commission to King of Egypt 1512).

⁴⁹ see profile of Benedetto Trevisan di Francesco in appendix 1- one close homonym was Benedetto Trevisan, son of Zaccaria, who held diplomatic posts from the 1490s and who is noted at the end of the profiles in appendix one, p. 376.

only five before 1495.⁵⁰ In other words, few of the individuals in the Contarini clan were particularly prominent ambassadors; the reason they held as many as fourteen posts was due only to the large size of the *casa*.

Therefore, the Venetian *case* who appear to have held most diplomatic posts were able to do so was because they had one or two exceptional clan members who held an unusual number of posts.⁵¹ The importance of the individual rather than the clan is corroborated if we examine the *case* in group C of figure eight, those who held between ten and fourteen posts. If we compare figures seven and eight, we see that two of the clans in this group had only one of their members serving as an ambassador in the second half of the fifteenth century- the Badoer and Bembo clans. The one member of the Badoer *casa* was Sebastiano. He was, again, an important humanist-politician. He served on thirteen embassies between 1454 and 1494 (3 percent of the total number of missions served upon in these years).⁵² The same pattern occurs with the Bembo clan. Bernardo Bembo was another prominent politician: he served on ten embassies between 1454 and 1494.⁵³ It was therefore quite possible for clan groups with just one or two ambassadors to hold a large proportion of the total number of diplomatic appointments in this period, on the basis of the prominence of particular individual(s) in the *casa*.

We have discussed so far only the numerical significance of the diplomatic office-holding of patrician clans in Venice. I now want to go onto discuss whether certain *case* dominated particular types of offices or destinations. In fact, there is little evidence to suggest that this is the case. Obviously, many members of the same clan served in the same

⁵⁰ For Francesco Contarini see King, *Venetian Humanism* pp. 350-51, *DBI* vol. 28, pp. 160-61; for Pandolfo Contarini see *DBI* vol. 28, pp. 257-58; for Zaccaria Contarini see *DBI* vol. 28, pp. 325-28

⁵¹ This is corroborated by figures three and four in chapter 2 which indicate that diplomatic office in this period was dominated by a comparatively small group of men, p. 67.

⁵² For the career of Sebastiano Badoer see *DBI* vol. 5, pp. 124-25, King, *Venetian Humanism* 317-18

⁵³ For a chronology of Bembo's life, see Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, pp. 24-76

places in the course of their careers. Successful ambassadors in the same family often served in Rome for example; this was a prestigious destination, generally reserved for established and experienced diplomats.

It is however, not a simple matter to say whether members of certain *case* served on the most prestigious diplomatic posts as we cannot accurately define what might have been perceived as a 'prestigious' embassy in the second half of the fifteenth century. One possible approach, however, is to consider those individuals who held posts *in obedientia* between 1454 and 1494. These were diplomats sent to new Popes to congratulate them on their accession to the papacy. These embassies were usually reserved for the most reliable and prestigious ambassadors in Venice, those whose presence in Rome would confer suitable honour upon the new Pope. Appendix two (which indicates the numbers of Venetians sent to each destination in the second half of the fifteenth century) shows which individuals became ambassadors *in obedientia* for the period 1454-1494. Figure nine above indicates the number of posts held by each individual ambassador between 1454 and 1494.

From figure nine, it appears that clan groups did not dominate the holding of diplomatic posts *in obedientia*.⁵⁴ Sometimes two members from the same clan group were appointed to these posts in these years, but it was occasional, and certainly not indicative of a policy in awarding office. Indeed, I would argue that individuals were more important than clan groups. Triadano Gritti, for example, held an exceptional four diplomatic posts *in obedientia* between 1454 and 1494,⁵⁵ while a handful of other ambassadors held two posts

⁵⁴ See Pullan, 'The occupations and investments of the Venetian nobility', pp. 397-98. The choice of those appointed as ambassadors *in obedientia* may have been influenced by their political-ecclesiastical viewpoints; for the sixteenth century, Pullan notes that the *papalisti* faction included families who had established contacts with Rome by the *Cinquecento* (such as the Grimani, Barbaro, Corner and the Pisani) and had possibly made large profits from doing so. At the other end of the spectrum was the anti-clerical faction, often, Pullan suggests, associated with the *giovani* party.

⁵⁵ For his commissions see SS vol. 20, f. 62v (Rome 1455); SS vol. 20, f. 164r-65v (Rome 1458); SS vol. 25, f. 80r-84r (Rome 1471); for mention of his mission to Paul II in 1464 see SS vol. 22, f. 37r

in these years. Therefore, there is no evidence that clan groups dominated these prestigious embassies; on the other hand there does appear to be a correlation between the prestige of an *individual* (which takes into account his personal reputation and the status of his *casa*) and the holding of these important diplomatic posts.

We established in chapter two that a handful of men dominated diplomatic office-holding in the second half of the fifteenth century. While the statistics at first sight seem to show that this domination of office was reflected along clan lines, closer scrutiny of the biographical profiles indicates that this is too simplistic an approach. The principle elaborated in Chojnacki's work on *Trecento* patricians and Venetian politics cannot be applied to the influence of clans on Venetian diplomatic office-holding in the second half of the fifteenth century. The majority of diplomatic offices were indeed held by a minority, but it was certain individual men, rather than particular clans, who dominated ambassadorial office. How these individuals came to monopolise diplomatic office is obviously a vital question, and one that will be pursued over the following chapters. One reason I suggest here though, was the importance of having relatives who also served as ambassadors.

Family ties

The above analysis concerning clan groups and ambassadorial office in Venice appears to suggest that consideration of the clan is not particularly useful when talking of ambassadorial office-holding. I would suggest that the notion of family, though, is vital from two perspectives. First I consider the importance of close (and quite distant) family relationships between ambassadors in the fifteenth century. I investigate how many of the ambassadors in the core group were directly related to one another, and surmise how these relationships might have affected the diplomatic career of an individual. Second, I look at

the importance of familial and personal financial resources for those wishing to pursue an ambassadorial career.

Direct family ties

I begin, then, by identifying which of the ambassadors in the core group were closely related to other individuals who served as ambassadors *before* 1454 (and, to a lesser extent, *after* 1494) and who therefore do not appear in the core group. Obviously, to thoroughly investigate the diplomatic careers of every single father, brother, grandfather and son of the one hundred and thirty-five ambassadors in the core group would have been a huge undertaking, and not practical for the present project. In figure ten, then, I have used easily accessible sources to get an impression of how many ambassadors in the core group also had relatives who served as ambassadors before 1454 or after 1494.⁵⁶

Figure 10: Relatives of ambassadors who also held ambassadorial posts (before 1454 and after 1494)

Francesco Barbarigo (father of Agostino, Girolamo and Marco); ambassador to Florence 1439
Francesco Barbaro (father of Zaccaria , grandfather of Ermolao); ambassador to Mantua, Ferrara, Rome, Emperor and Milan in first half fifteenth century
Andrea Bernardo (father of Antonio); ambassador to Florence 1433
Andrea Boldù (grandson of Antonio); ambassador to Savoy 1594
Cristoforo Capello (son of Francesco di Cristoforo); ambassador to France 1539
Carlo Capello (son of Francesco di Cristoforo); ambassador to the King of the Romans 1538

⁵⁶ In particular I have used Barbaro and *DBI*. These sorts of sources have provided some information concerning the relatives, but it should be noted that such information is far from complete. As a result, figure 10 can only give us an impression of how many men had relatives who were ambassadors and who were not included in the core group.

Albano Capello (father of **Francesco**); ambassador to Frederick III 1451
 Nicolò Contarini (father of **Francesco**); ambassador to the Duke of Savoy
 Antonio Contarini (grandfather of **Maffeo**); ambassador to Pope Alessandro V 1409
 Giacomo Contarini (uncle of **Maffeo**); ambassador to Spain 1496
 Andrea Contarini (uncle of **Maffeo**); ambassador accompanying Frederick III to Padua 1468
 Francesco Contarini (son of **Zaccaria**); ambassador to Emperor Charles V
 Giorgio Corner (son of **Marco**); ambassador to Maximilian 1501
 Paolo Correr (father of **Philippo**); ambassador to Milan 1425
 Maffeo Dandolo (son of **Marco**); ambassador to France 1547
 Andrea Donato (father of **Ludovico**); many times ambassador
 Francesco Donato (son of **Ludovico**); many times ambassador; doge
 Pietro Emo (grandson of **Giovanni**); ambassador to Leopold of Austria 1381
 Leonardo Giustiniani (father of **Bernardo**); ambassador many time
 Ludovico Gradenigo (son of **Domenico**); ambassador to Bologna 1530
 Fantin Michiel (father of **Maffeo**); ambassador to Rome in 1430s
 Tomaso Mocenigo (grandson of **Giovanni**); ambassador many times, including to the Pope and to Turkey
 Tomaso Mocenigo (uncle of **Giovanni and Pietro**); ambassador to Hungary 1409; doge
 Leonardo Mocenigo (son of **Giovanni**); ambassador in the sixteenth century
 Barbone Morosini (father of **Barbone**); ambassador/provveditore in Lombardy in early fifteenth century
 Silvestro Morosini (uncle of **Marcantonio**); ambassador to Charles VII in 1431
 Andrea Morosini (grandfather of **Paolo**); ambassador to the King of Hungary 1347
 Girolamo Pesaro (son of **Benedetto**); ambassador to Pope Paul III
 Marco Sanuto (son of **Francesco**); ambassador to Savoy 1496
 Cristoforo Soranzo (father of **Giovanni**); ambassador 1414
 Zaccaria Trevisan (father of **Zaccaria**); ambassador
 Marcantonio Venier (grandson of **Francesco**); ambassador many times, including to Rome and England
 Lion Venier (nephew of **Francesco**); ambassador in obedientia to Julius II, 1505

We will return to significance of this list in a moment. The next step is to focus specifically upon the relationships between the individuals in the core group. First, I consider relationships forged through marriage, as many of the men in the core group married the daughters of other men in the core group.⁵⁷ These relationships are indicated in figure eleven. It shows that thirty-five of the one hundred and thirty-five Venetian ambassadors were related by marriage to another individual in the core group (26 percent of the total number of ambassadors in the core group).

It should be noted that this is probably a conservative figure and it is possible that more of the ambassadors in the core group were related by marriage, but that these relationships have not been identified. The reason for this is that figure eleven is almost certainly incomplete: it only includes those which were definitely related. In trying to identify mothers, wives and daughters of individuals, the historian faces particular problems. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find consistent references to the daughters of patrician individuals in the source material. The names of the wives of these men were comparatively easy to discover: what has proved more difficult has been to positively identify them as relations of other men in the survey. The problem lies in the process of identification used for patrician men and women. For men, identification has rested upon knowledge of their first name, followed their patronymic. Without the latter, full identification is sometimes impossible. The formula used has therefore been:

full name of individual + full name of his father

⁵⁷ See the discussion above for the historical debate over the importance of kin relationships formed through marriage.

Identifying women is more complicated because we so infrequently know the names of daughters of patrician men. Therefore, often in order to correctly identify women, the women's full name should be known, the name of her father, and his father before him. The formula used has therefore been:

full name of individual + full name of her father + full name of his father (her paternal grandfather).

In cases where we do not know this information, it is often difficult to identify women correctly. In figure eleven, and indeed throughout this whole study, I have only identified relationships I have reason to believe are accurate.

Figure 11: Ambassadors in the core group related by marriage

<p>The father of Ermolao Barbaro, Zaccaria, married Clara, dau of Andrea Vendramin</p> <p>The mother of Zaccaria Barbaro, Maria, was the sister of Giacomo Loredan</p> <p>Antonio Boldù in 1488 married Cristina, the daughter of Giovanni Moro</p> <p>Andrea Capello in 1470 married Marina, the daughter of Marco Barbarigo</p> <p>Francesco Capello in 1485 married Elena, the daughter of Pietro Priuli</p> <p>Paolo Capello in 1478 married Elisabetta, the daughter of Marco Corner</p> <p>Antonio Dandolo in 1456 married the daughter of Giovanni Mocenigo</p> <p>Marco Dandolo's mother was the daughter of Bernardo Giustiniani; in 1485, he married Lucia, the daughter of Marco Corner</p> <p>Antonio Donato's mother Maria was the sister of Nicolò Da Canal</p> <p>Ludovico Donato in 1466 married Camilla, daughter of Marino Lion</p> <p>Nicolò Foscari in 1464 married Caterina, daughter of Federico Corner</p> <p>Gabriel Loredan in 1452 married the daughter of Andrea Lion</p> <p>Francesco Michiel in 1468 married Maria, daughter of Candiano Bollani</p>
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Giovanni Mocenigo in 1432 married Taddea, sister of **Francesco Michiel**

Cristoforo Moro in 1412 married Cristina, aunt of **Leonardo** and **Francesco Sanuto**

Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo in 1466 m the daughter of **Zaccaria Trevisan**

Francesco Sanuto in 1443 married Maria, daughter of **Pietro Priuli**

This list includes ambassadors who married the daughters of other individuals in the core group, or whose fathers married relations of other men in the core group

Finally, I want to turn to perhaps the most interesting data in this survey, direct (blood) family relationships among ambassadors in the core group. This is shown in figure twelve below. Unlike figures ten and eleven, we can assume that the information in this table is virtually complete; I have described every relationship between ambassadors in the core group, except in those cases where I have not been able to identify particular individuals.⁵⁸

Figure 12: Venetian ambassadors 1454-94 who were related to one another by blood

code:

1= close relations (brothers, fathers and sons, grandparents)

2=more distant relations (uncles and nephews, cousins)

3=distant relations (those who belonged to the same branch, 'ramo', of the family and whose relationship is distant, but still traceable)

Barbarigo, Agostino, Girolamo and Marco-1

Barbaro, Zaccaria and Ermolao-1

Bollani, Candiano and Domenico -1

Capello, Vettore, Andrea, Paolo-1

Contarini, Ambrogio, Zaccaria and Francesco-2

Contarini, Giorgio and Corner, Marco-2

⁵⁸ For example, in the case of homonyms; see my comments on this in chapter 1, pp. 28-29.

Donato, Antonio, Ludovico and Girolamo-1

Emo, Giovanni and Giorgio-1

Foscari, Nicolò, and Urbano-3

Foscarini, Ludovico and Nicolò-1

Giustiniani, Bernardo and Orsato-3

Lando, Ludovico and Vitale-1

*Lion, Andrea, Nicolò, Marino and Girolamo-1, 2 and 3

Loredan, Giacomo and Ludovico-2

Marcello, Girolamo and Pietro-2

Mocenigo, Giovanni and Pietro-2

+Moro, Cristoforo, Giovanni and Domenico-1 and 3

Morosini, Barbone and Giustiniani-2

Morosini, Paolo and Pietro-1

Pasqualigo, Ettore and Giovanni Francesco -3

Pesaro, Benedetto, Nicolò and Maffeo-3

Pisani, Paolo and Luca-1

Sanuto, Francesco and Leonardo 1

Soranzo, Pietro and Vettore-1

Trevisan, Domenico and Zaccaria-3

Vettore, Bartolomeo and Matteo-1

*Note: in the Lion family, Andrea is the uncle of Nicolò, the father of Marino, and the grandfather of Girolamo.

+Note: Giovanni and Domenico Moro were brothers, while Cristoforo was a distant relation

Figure twelve shows that sixty out of one hundred and thirty-five ambassadors in the core group were related to others in the core group (44 percent of the total number of ambassadors in the core group). Thirty-three of these were closely related (fathers, brothers, grandfathers) to others in the core group- that is 24 percent.

The relationships which require some explanation are those encoded with a '3' in figure twelve. As was explained above, sometimes relationships between clan groups could be so ancient that they were almost untraceable; those indicated by '3' are cases where the relationship is distant, but is identifiable. Nicolò and Urbano Foscari, for example, were quite distantly related; Urbano's grandfather was the brother of Nicolò's great grandfather.⁵⁹ In the case of the Moro family, Domenico and Giovanni were brothers; Doge Cristoforo's father was the brother of their grandfather.⁶⁰

As we can see, thirty-three members of the core group were closely related to one another. These relations could span anything from one to three generations. The Mocenigo family, for example, had two brothers of whom were ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century. They each held one diplomatic post in the course of their careers; Pietro to Pope Paul II in 1464 and Giovanni to Bartolomeo Colleoni in 1477.⁶¹ They both went on to become Doges. The Capello are a good example of ambassadorial office spanning two generations. Vettore Capello held a number of diplomatic posts; he was ambassador *in obedientia* twice in the 1450s and 1460s. He had two sons who appear in the core group. Andrea served on an embassy to Rome in 1492, while Vettore's other son Paolo served on a number of embassies between 1492 and 1510.⁶²

The Lion family is the only example we have of three generations of men serving as ambassadors between 1454 and 1494.⁶³ Andrea Lion was the oldest of the group; he served as ambassador *in obedientia* twice in a career lasting from 1464-1472. Marino Lion, his son, served on just one ambassadorial post that we know of in the second half of the

⁵⁹ See Barbaro vol. III, pp. 509-10

⁶⁰ See Barbaro vol. V, p. 277

⁶¹ For Pietro Morosini's embassy to Pope Paul II see SS vol. 22, f. 37r; for Giovanni Mocenigo's embassy see Barbaro vol. V, pp. 186-87

⁶² For the relationship between the Capellos see Barbaro vol. II, p. 261

⁶³ See Plate 9 (between pp. 113 and 114) which is the family tree of the Lion family

fifteenth century, to Pope Alessandro VI in 1492. Marino's son, Girolamo was diplomatically active from 1471 until at least 1500. Nicolò Lion was the cousin of Marino and thus the nephew of Andrea; he served as an ambassador in the 1460s. It is worth noting that Andrea Lion also formed an alliance with the Loredan family, when he married his daughter to Gabriel Loredan in 1452.⁶⁴

The information in figure twelve shows that 44 percent of the core group were directly related to one another. 49 percent of ambassadors were related by *either* blood or marriage to others in the core group. If we take these statistics together with those from figure ten, we see that about seventy-seven of the ambassadors in the core group were related to men, by blood or marriage, who held posts as ambassadors (not necessarily between the years 1454 and 1494); that is 57 percent of the total number of ambassadors in the core group. As I explained above, these figures are probably conservative.

Some of the familial ties shown above were quite complex. As an illustration, I take just one example. Bernardo Giustiniani served as a Venetian ambassador between 1452 and 1485.⁶⁵ The Giustiniani clan are in group C in figure seven; they had three of their members serving as ambassadors in the period 1454-1494. There is no traceable kin relationship between Francesco and the other two members of the clan, Bernardo and Orsato. These last two, however, were distant cousins (Orsato Giustiniani served the state as an ambassador between 1436 and 1461). Between the three of them, though, they held over twenty diplomatic posts in the second half of the fifteenth century (see figure eight). Bernardo Giustiniani's father, Leonardo, had also been an important diplomat at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. In addition, Bernardo was the maternal

⁶⁴ See Barbaro vol. IV, p. 253; for Gabriel Loredan's marriage see *Cronaca Matrimonia* reg. 106/1, f. 81r.

⁶⁵ For the life, career and family relationships of Bernardo Giustiniani see Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*

grandfather of Marco Dandolo (who had an exceptional diplomatic career spanning from 1492-1531). Bernardo's daughter, Orsa, married Andrea Dandolo, and was the mother of Marco Dandolo. Marco Dandolo in 1485 married Lucia, the daughter of Marco Corner and the sister of Queen Caterina of Cyprus.⁶⁶ Corner, as well as serving in Cyprus at key points in his career, also held a series of diplomatic posts from 1452 until 1471.⁶⁷

There were, then, a complex web of familial matrices linking well over half of the individuals who make up the core group. At one end of the scale, these men originated from fifty-nine broad clan groupings. As we have established, the men within these clan groups were not always related to one another in a meaningful or traceable way. However, nearly half were directly (blood) related to other individuals in the core group, while others were related to men who served as ambassadors outside the years 1454 and 1494. Superimposed over this are networks of matrilineal kin, linking the individuals in the core group with one another through marriage.

This closeness of family ties among the men in the core group should not surprise us. It is interesting to consider whether a group of one hundred and thirty-five male patrician men in the fifteenth century selected at random might show similar patrilineal and matrilineal kin relationships and connections as those evidenced by the men in the core group. Certainly, intermarriage between patrician men and women led to large numbers of members of different families being related to one another. The men in the core group were from the leading patrician families in Venice and intermarriage with the daughters of others of the same status would have been seen as very favourable and quite normal. In the case of Bernardo Giustiniani above, it is not surprising that he should marry his daughter into the prestigious Dandolo clan, and that the Dandolo clan would want to form a marriage

⁶⁶ *Cronaca Matrimonia*, reg. 106/1, f. 48r

⁶⁷ For the career of Marco Corner see *DBI vol. 29*, pp. 251-54

alliance with the rich and politically important Corner family. The point, is, however, how significant these relationships were in attaining and maintaining diplomatic office.

The lack of primary material concerning sponsors for diplomatic office make this question frustratingly difficult to answer. I would suggest that there were two aspects of diplomatic practice which were profoundly affected by the employment of close relatives as ambassadors. The first is the issue of diplomatic 'apprenticeship'. The idea of apprenticeship for ambassadors, when young patricians would accompany their older relatives (usually their fathers) on embassies in order to gain some experience, was common in Florence. This is indicated in an article by Philip Jones which looks the journal of the Florentine Giovanni di Tommaso Ridolfi.⁶⁸ This journal was written by Giovanni while he was accompanying his father on an embassy to Milan in 1480. Jones tells us that Giovanni was between twenty and twenty-two years old at the time and may have accompanied his father on this embassy in order to gain experience of diplomatic office, a custom which became mandatory in Florence in 1498.⁶⁹

It is generally assumed that this practice of diplomatic apprenticeship was also common in Venice. J.C. Davis has argued that a typical Venetian ambassador at the time of Philip II had come from a diplomatic background, often having travelled with a father or uncle on an embassy; in this way ambassadors were trained in diplomatic skills before taking on their first office.⁷⁰ Unfortunately we have little direct evidence that this was the case in the fifteenth century, apart from the high numbers of ambassadors in the core group who were closely related to one another; at least thirty men in the core group had fathers who had served as ambassadors. A good example of this sort of apprenticeship taking place

⁶⁸ Jones, 'Travel notes of an apprentice Florentine statesman'

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 264; see also G. Vedovato, 'La preparazione dei giovani alla diplomazia nella Repubblica fiorentina', *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, anno 22, vol. 1 (1962), pp. 83-96

⁷⁰ Davis, *Pursuit of Power*, p. 7

is that of Ermolao Barbaro. It is well known that he accompanied his father on two missions, one to Milan in 1477 and one to Rome in 1480-81. On both occasions he went as an 'apprentice', to learn the skills of the business. He later served as ambassador to the King of the Romans, Milan and Rome in the 1480s and 1490s in his own right.⁷¹

A second and perhaps more important issue concerning the employment of relatives in diplomacy concerns the matter of informal guidance and continuity. As I noted in chapter three, the actions of an ambassador were governed by legislation, at least in theory, and the diplomat, if he wanted, could seek advice from treatises and books. In reality, though, ideas and attitudes concerning behaviour, and the way an ambassador should act, were probably passed informally amongst ambassadors who worked and travelled together. Important in this informal flow of advice and information was the connection between father to son, and between other relatives who were employed as ambassadors by Venice. Relatives of ambassadors could provide a living testament for the younger generation; although unquantifiable, it is likely that these sorts of informal networks of advice and sources of information were far more influential than prescriptive treatises and books. Moreover, the tendency to employ relatives as ambassadors promoted continuity in diplomatic business; even if sons never acted as 'apprenticeships', relatives undoubtedly used their own experiences to guide the younger generation in diplomatic business, passing on suggestions and making recommendations.

Finance

A second way that 'family' could affect the prospect of an individual's diplomatic career was by means of its wealth. The financing of Venetian embassies meant that an

⁷¹ *DBI* vol. 6, pp. 83-84, 96; King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 322-23

individual had to be comparatively wealthy in order to afford to go on a mission (which could be extremely costly). Often, the expenses of a mission would have to be subsidised from an individual's own income. Yet determining the wealth of the men and families in the core group is not an easy matter. The lack of official financial sources for this period makes any statistical analysis impossible. The few wills we have of the men in the core group rarely cast light on personal wealth. While small bequests were made to servants and friends, the residue of an individual's estate was usually left to his wife or other close relative: unfortunately the value of this 'residue' is rarely given. The best way we have of calculating wealth, therefore, is anecdotally, from the comments of foreign ambassadors for example, or from information provided in detailed monographs.

Although, we lack any consistent financial records for the fifteenth century, we do have a source for the late fourteenth century. This was the *estimo* of 1379, which was a census of immovable wealth carried out by the government in order to raise funds for the War of Chioggia. The *estimo* indicates that there were considerable differences in the material wealth of Venetian patricians. Some ninety-two nobles in the assessment were noted as having fortunes over 10,000 ducats, while eight hundred and seventeen owned under 3,000. A small minority were worth more than 20,000 ducats.⁷²

Venetian patrician wealth was founded on banking and trade. Domination of commerce in the East, and especially of the international spice trade, made the fortune of many of the families in the core group.⁷³ Many had been merchants in their youth before engaging in political service. Marco Corner, for instance, apparently possessed great riches

⁷² Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, pp. 32-33; Chojnacki, 'In search of the Venetian patriciate', pp. 62-65. See my comments on problems associated with using the *estimo* as a source above, footnote 2.

⁷³ Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility*, p. 35. Note though that Venetian domination of commerce was damaged in the sixteenth century, with the opening up of new trade routes to the East.

after pursuing a mercantile career in the Levant.⁷⁴ The wealth of others, such as the Capello family, lay in banking.⁷⁵

One of the ways that the nobility could improve their wealth other than through commerce and banking was through office-holding.⁷⁶ For the less well-off, posts which offered some remuneration included those in the navy or army, governorships and some overseas occupations. At the other extreme were the largely honorary posts which entailed large personal expenditure and therefore required a person with considerable wealth. Some of the most costly posts were diplomatic embassies overseas.⁷⁷ Although accepting that this distinction between offices did not achieve equality across the noble class, Brian Pullan has suggested that 'The high cost of office, particularly in the field of diplomacy, did serve as a form of supertax which partially curbed the tendency towards the formation of rigid and contrasting groups of over-rich and abjectly poor persons'.⁷⁸

There were two ways in which personal, family or clan wealth might be important in the career of a Venetian ambassador. First, as we have seen, it was comparatively common for an individual to refuse a diplomatic position to which he had been elected.⁷⁹ If the ambassador-elect had a justifiable excuse for the refusal, he might be excused from the position. On the other hand, if the reasons he gave were deemed insufficient, he might be liable to a fine. Such fines could be large, perhaps up to two thousand ducats, although we have no evidence to show how often such fines were in fact imposed.

⁷⁴ *DBI* vol. 29, pp. 251-52

⁷⁵ Mueller, *Money and banking in medieval and Renaissance Venice*, pp. 283, 282, 220, 250-51; *DBI* vol. 18, pp. 808-12

⁷⁶ Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 29-50 suggests that many Venetian nobles were poor and were forced to take on public office in order to survive financially.

⁷⁷ Pullan, 'The occupations and investments of the Venetian nobility', pp. 393-96. Another way of increasing one's wealth according to Pullan was through ecclesiastical benefices.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 397; note also that unemployment could be a problem: office was rotated in Venice leaving some patrician without offices occasionally. Debtors to the state could not hold government posts, see Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p. 75

⁷⁹ For a detailed discussion of this, see chapter 3, pp. 98-104

The second reason wealth was important for a prospective ambassador was because he would often be expected to supplement the costs of a mission. The accounting of the finances for an embassy was a thorny problem for Venetian legislators. Donald Queller has noted that much diplomatic legislation in Venice was preoccupied with limiting the financial expenditure of ambassadors.⁸⁰ Legislation throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth century was concerned with such matters as requiring ambassadors to account for all the moneys used on their embassies, ensuring that money not spent was returned to the state as soon as possible and restricting the size of entourages. Much legislation concerning diplomatic finance (such as those laws detailed below of 1353, 1466 and 1477) was more a response to fiscal pressures in Venice itself (often brought on by the need to fund war and military activity), than related to developments in diplomacy.

Legislation of 1353 demanded that ambassadorial expenses be separated into maintenance expenses (which should come out of the ambassador's salary) and the expenses for the journey.⁸¹ In 1456, the state reiterated that ambassadorial accounting was inadequate and demanded that accounts be submitted within ten days of the diplomat's return from Venice.⁸² By an important piece of legislation in 1466, Venice decided to formally end the custom of allowing foreign governments receiving Venetian embassies to pay towards the expenses of the embassy.

This referred to medieval practice, whereby the host state would pay for the upkeep of the visiting ambassador. We can get an indication of the sort of costs a host state might be expected to pay for visiting embassies from the Florentine *Libro Ceremoniale*. In this is listed the expenses incurred by the Florentine state by each embassy received during the 1460s and 1470s. It indicates that most of the Venetian embassies sent to Florence which

⁸⁰ Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors*, p. 14

⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp.15-20

involved the reception of just one ambassador cost between £122.14.11 up to £181.17.6.⁸³ Embassies involving more than one ambassador inevitably cost more.⁸⁴ By far the most that Florence spent on receiving any embassy in these years, Venetian or other, was £2862.5.10; this was the amount spent on receiving the ten-man Venetian mission to Pope Paul II in 1464, which stopped off in Florence.⁸⁵

The 1466 law to end foreign payment of embassies is significant in two ways. First, Queller has suggested that the payment of an ambassador by the principal, rather than by the receiving court, contributed to the evolution of the ambassador into a servant of the state.⁸⁶ Second, it could suggest a movement towards residency; certainly it implies that missions were increasing in duration. While short, honorary embassies could be paid for by the receiving state (and probably still were for some time after this legislation), longer, resident missions required a different sort of funding.

A major piece of legislation in 1477 aimed to rationalise all previous acts. According to this law, diplomats were to present detailed accounts of their expenses. The ambassador should not spend more than four *grossi* a day in maintenance for each person and horse. Expenses were to be recorded on a daily basis and the salaries of secretaries and chancellors were to be limited. The ambassador must not give gifts unless with the permission of the state and must hand over any gifts he received for public auction. Within three days of his return to Venice he should return any surplus money to Venice and within eight days any property.⁸⁷

⁸² *ibid.*, p. 21

⁸³ Trexler, *Libro Ceremoniale*, pp. 108, 110, 113, 114, 115

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 112, p. 114)

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 115, 92; see also Maspes, 'Prammatia per ricevimento deli ambasciatori', pp. 146-51 for the amounts spent on foreign ambassadors visiting the Milanese court in 1468.

⁸⁶ Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors*, p. 22

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 23

In reality, the ambassador was expected to defray many of the expenses of an embassy by the mid to late fifteenth century. Although the expenses of embassies sent to honour the accession of a monarch or elevation of a Pope may well have been paid, either Venice or the receiving government, it is noticeable that many of the Venetians sent were from wealthy families, presumably indicating that the prestige of an individual was still associated with his personal and familial wealth.⁸⁸ Lengthier missions, however, did call for considerable expenditure on the part of the ambassador.⁸⁹ Paolo Capello, for example, was said to have spent two thousand ducats on a mission to Rome lasting sixteen months, an amount which was scarcely touched by the government subsidy.⁹⁰

As we might expect, the economic fortunes of the ambassadors in the core group varied. We do know that many of the families whose members served as ambassadors were regarded as particularly wealthy. The family of Nicolò and Urbano Foscari for example, was known to possess considerable wealth,⁹¹ as was the Barbarigo, three of whose members served as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century (Girolamo, Marco, Agostino- the latter two also became doges.)⁹²

Others in the core group were known to be personally wealthy. Ludovico Foscari, for example, owned considerable property.⁹³ Federico Corner possessed extensive lands on the *terraferma*.⁹⁴ Zaccaria Barbaro was thought to be very wealthy; his wife Clara Vendramin brought with her a huge dowry of over 5000 ducats, which was used to buy a palazzo on the Grand Canal at San Vidal (the size of the dowry, of course, also indicates

⁸⁸ Wealthy individuals who were also ambassadors *in obedientia* include Girolamo Barbarigo, Ludovico Foscari and Andrea Capello amongst others.

⁸⁹ Although referring predominantly to the sixteenth century, see Pullan, 'The occupations and investments of the Venetian nobility', pp. 396-97

⁹⁰ Queller, *Office of Ambassador*, p. 173

⁹¹ *DBI* vol. 49, pp. 335, 350

⁹² For references to Barbarigo wealth, see King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 319

⁹³ King, *Venetian humanism*, pp. 374-77

⁹⁴ *DBI* vol. 29, p. 181

the substantial wealth of Clara's father, another ambassador and doge, Andrea Vendramin). Zaccaria Barbaro also gave a loan to Venice for 3000 ducats to support the Ferrarese war.⁹⁵ Likewise Zaccaria Contarini was presumed to be wealthy; his wife Alba also brought a dowry of 5000 ducats. The Milanese ambassador in Venice, Leonardo Botta, noted that Francesco Giustiniani, who had served as ambassador to Rome, was a rich man.⁹⁶ When Francesco Priuli was elected ambassador to Milan, Leonardo Botta suggested that he was likely to refuse the post (and presumably pay the fine), as he was apparently 'fat in flesh, and in money.'⁹⁷

The economic fortunes of some others in the core group were rather less buoyant. Bernardo Bembo, although possessing land in the *terraferma*, also had to raise loans at certain points, especially from Lorenzo de' Medici.⁹⁸ Candiano Bollani was a merchant and was granted a license to mine near Brescia and Bergamo; even so, he was not thought to be especially wealthy.⁹⁹ Margaret King suggests that Girolamo Donato may have died poor after dedicating his career to public service.¹⁰⁰

It is difficult then, to posit a direct link between the diplomatic servants of Venice and their personal and family wealth. Unfortunately, financial records do not survive to allow us to carry out a detailed analysis. We can say, however, that most of the references we have to the resources of men in the core group refer to their wealth rather than their poverty. This is hardly surprising; as we have seen, serving on diplomatic (and especially honorary) missions could carry a substantial personal financial burden. The financial

⁹⁵ G. Gullino, 'Genealogia e patrimonio del Barbaro, umanisti e patriarch di Aquileia' in *Una famiglia Veneziana nella Storia: I Barbaro*, ed. M. Marangoli and M. Pastore Stocchi (Venice 1996), p. 95 and 96; King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 325-27

⁹⁶ 'Quest mess Francescho e zentilhomo richissimo et de bona conditione...', ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 360, 20 Aug. 1474

⁹⁷ 'grasso di carne: et di dinari', *ibid.*, cart. 369, 21 Sept. 1479

⁹⁸ King, *Venetian humanism*, pp. 335-39

⁹⁹ According to his son Girolamo, *ibid.*, pp. 340-41

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 366-68

problems of the men in the core group were often a product of their careers as public servants. Diplomacy was perhaps increasingly the preserve of the rich.

Therefore, the core group of Venetian ambassadors 1454-1494 is made up of a complex series of kin and clan relationships, some direct and close, others so ancient as to be untraceable. I have shown that we cannot argue that certain clans in Venice dominated ambassadorial office in this period; although the statistics at first sight seem to show this, the argument cannot be sustained when detailed evidence behind the data is considered. This evidence appears to show that ambassadorial office was dominated, but by individuals rather than clans. These individuals were able to do so, not solely on the basis of their *clan*, but also as a result of close *family* ties with other men who served as ambassadors. Unfortunately, due to the lack of records of nominations and Venetian dispatches for his period, we have little evidence which can tell us about the practical role family played in attaining and maintaining diplomatic office. However, we have seen that diplomatic office-holding often went back generations in the same family; not only did informal apprenticeship help prepare a young man for ambassadorial office, but family finance might help an individual's diplomatic advancement. Informal guidance between relatives helped contribute to continuity in diplomatic practices.

CHAPTER FIVE

PREREQUISITES FOR HOLDING DIPLOMATIC OFFICE

The Venetian ambassadors of the second half of the *Quattrocento* belonged to some of the most prestigious patrician *case* in Venice. We have seen, however, that membership of an important clan was not enough in itself to ensure success in a diplomatic career, although having relatives who had also served as ambassadors certainly might aid a candidate's advancement. What also helped an individual's progress was training and experience. The office of ambassador required a person with certain skills and attributes. He had to travel, live abroad, negotiate treaties, settle disputes, liaise with foreign governments.

In this chapter, I suggest that there were three 'pre-requisites' which could influence the pursuance of a diplomatic career; age, education and experience (political and other). Consideration of these three factors re-emphasises several issues discussed below. First, it reiterates the point that there was a great deal of variety in the experiences of the men of the core group and that defining the 'normal' behaviour of ambassadors the second half of the fifteenth century is virtually impossible. The second issue is that despite the considerable differences in the backgrounds of the men in the core group, the shared experiences they do have allow us to identify some important sub-groups. They permit us to consider the origins of those few ambassadors who held a large share of diplomatic offices of the second half of the *Quattrocento*, disproportionate to their numbers.¹ Finally, consideration of the experience (particularly political) of the core group indicates the correlation between Venetian diplomats and the political system in which they operated. It shows that the ambassador of Venice was a product of a political system, whose hallmark was the political and public involvement of the patrician class in government.

PART A: EDUCATION AND HUMANISM

Education

Education was, of course, fundamental to the training of men who were to serve the state as ambassadors. Venetian ambassadors were sent abroad for periods ranging from a few weeks to several years. While abroad, they were expected to negotiate treaties, settle disputes, liaise with foreign governments, present orations, and write regular and detailed dispatches home. They might be expected to speak and write Latin: this was often the only common language between ambassadors and foreign governments.²

The history of Renaissance education in Italy has been linked by historians to intellectual developments, especially to the rise of humanist studies. Eugenio Garin has led the field in positing a sharp distinction between education in the medieval and Renaissance periods. He has associated medieval education with scholasticism, of which he painted a negative picture; it was, he has argued, opposed to empirical study and was orientated towards religion and theology rather than the classics.³ For Garin, it was the rise of humanism which revolutionised education in the Renaissance. A new liberal approach to teaching allied to a concentration on the classics contributed to the development of new curricula and institutions.⁴

¹ For an outline of the way diplomatic office was distributed among the men of the core group, see chapter 2, pp. 65-70.

² On the importance for ambassadors and their secretaries to speak Latin, see my comments in chapter 3, p. 109-10, and Franceschi, f. 38, 44.

³ On scholasticism see also P.O. Kristeller, 'Thomism and the Italian thought of the Renaissance', in his *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning. Three Essays by P.O. Kristeller*, ed. and trans. by E.P. Mahoney (Durham, N. Carolina 1974), pp. 29-91

⁴ R. Black, 'Italian Renaissance education; changing perspectives and continuing controversies', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 52 (1991), pp. 316-318; E. Garin, *L'Educazione in Europa (1400-1600)* (Bari 1957); E. Garin, *L'Educazione Umanistica in Italia* (Bari 1953)

Aspects of Garin's argument have been challenged in recent years. While Paul Grendler has tended to concur with his essentially positive view of humanism and its relation to education,⁵ others have disagreed. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine in particular have tried to re-establish the importance of scholasticism on both academic and utilitarian grounds. For them, humanist education was tedious, and aimed at creating docile servants suitable for filling the new civil services of European absolutist states, rather than moulding free-thinking minds, something which, they argue, scholasticism had achieved.⁶ Garin, Grendler, Jardine and Grafton, then, all tend to posit a distinction between education of the medieval and Renaissance age. In contrast, Robert Black has suggested that there was continuity between the two periods; the methods of educating in medieval and humanist schools were in fact very similar.⁷

Education in Venice was certainly influenced by the rise in humanist studies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Until the mid fifteenth century, and for some time after, young patricians were educated by private tutors, abroad or in Venice. The older men in my core group (those born in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century) may have been educated in this manner. Venetian patricians often tried to acquire the services of foreign educators to come to Venice to teach their sons.⁸ Leonardo Giustiniani, for example, was keen to procure the services of humanists in order to teach his son, Bernardo.⁹ As a result, a number of leading humanists passed through Venice, usually staying for a few months or several years; these included Vittorino de Feltre and Guarino Veronese.¹⁰

Venetian education was also significantly influenced by the founding of three schools with public support in this period. The Rialto school was established in about

⁵ P.F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy, Literacy and Learning 1300-1600* (Baltimore and London 1989), pp. 404-10

⁶ Black, 'Italian Renaissance education', pp. 319-320; A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Europe* (London 1986)

⁷ Black, 'Italian Renaissance education', pp. 322-28

⁸ King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 18

⁹ Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*, pp. 35, 38-39, 41

1408.¹¹ Bruno Nardi has shown how a bequest from a wealthy merchant in 1397 left a provision for a number of young men to be educated- this was the origin of the Rialto school. It concentrated on study of the work of Averroes and Aristotle, and its most prestigious educator was Paolo dalla Pergola, present from 1421.¹² Francesco Giustiniani, Sebastiano Badoer, and Zaccaria Trevisan were all taught here.¹³ Two other schools were founded at San Marco in 1446 and 1460. The former was dedicated to the study of philosophy, while the latter was set up to be devoted to the *studia humanitatis* but in fact tended to function as a chancellery school; it was here that the secretary Antonio Vinciguerra was educated.¹⁴

A third component in the education of Venetian patricians was Padua University.¹⁵ In the fifteenth century this became the official university of Venice: indeed Venetians were forbidden from studying anywhere else.¹⁶ Bruno Nardi has shown that the many Venetian patricians who were educated at Padua would have trained in Aristotelian philosophy. Some attained the coveted title of *dottore*. On completing their university studies, Nardi noted that many patricians went on to hold important political positions at home and abroad on embassies.¹⁷ A number of the men in the core group studied at Padua University;

¹⁰ King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 18

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 19- dates the Rialto school to earlier than this date; J.B. Ross, 'Venetian schools and teachers in fourteenth to early sixteenth century: a survey and study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 29 (1976) p. 522, dates it to c. 1408; see also F. Lepori, 'La scuola di Rialto dalla fondazione alla meta del Cinquecento' in G. Arnaldi and M. Pastore Stocchi (eds.) *Storia della Cultura Veneta dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento 3/2* (Vicenza 1980), pp. 539-605

¹² Summarised in Ross, 'Venetian schools', p. 529; B. Nardi, 'La scuola di Rialto', *Umanesimo Europea, Umanesimo Venezia* ed. Branca (Firenze 1963), pp. 93-139

¹³ King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 19; note that the education and humanist interests of the men in the core group are indicated towards the end of each profile in appendix 1.

¹⁴ See Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*, pp. 91-104

¹⁵ See F. Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, 'L'università di Padova dal 1450 al Concilio di Trento' in *Storia della Cultura Veneta 3/2*, pp. 607-47; G. de Sandre, 'Dottori, università, comune a Padova nel Quattrocento', *Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova*, no. 1 (1968), pp. 15-47; M. Lowry, *Nicolas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford 1991)- see pp. 9-11 for a useful discussion of the link between Paduan students and diplomacy.

¹⁶ Ross 'Venetian schools', p. 521

¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 530-532; Nardi, 'La scuola di Rialto', pp. 94-95

as can be seen from Figure G in appendix three, twenty-four of the men in the core group attained the prestigious title of *dottore* (18 percent of the core group).¹⁸

Humanism

Traditionally, Renaissance Venice has been seen as unresponsive to cultural trends; we are told that the *studia humanitatis* arrived in Venice only at a comparatively late date.¹⁹ Furthermore, the humanism which developed in Venice was different to that in many other Italian states. There were no what we might call 'professional' humanists, although as we have seen, Venice did import some to instruct their young (such as Merula and Guarini). Venice lacked any sort of academic or curial-academic circle, like those in Florence, Rome and Milan.²⁰ It did not have a centre of humanist studies in its chancellery as other Italian states did. The Venetian chancellery had been the basis of humanist development in the late fourteenth century, but by the fifteenth was developing in to a busy bureaucracy, with little time for academic pursuits.²¹ Just eight of the individuals that Margaret King has identified as humanists in her study were secretaries, a surprisingly low

¹⁸ For this figure, see pp. 403. See also C. Zonta and I. Brotta (eds.), *Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini 1406-1450* (Padua 1822); M. P. Ghezzi (ed.) *Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini- 1451-60* (Padua 1990)

¹⁹ There is a huge literature on Renaissance humanism, which I do not propose to reiterate here. However, particularly useful are L. Martines, *The Social World of Florentine Humanists* (London 1963); H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton 1966); V. Branca, *Rinascimento Europeo e Rinascimento Veneziano* (Firenze 1967); P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* (New York 1979); V. Branca, 'L'umanesimo veneziano alla fine del Quattrocento, Ermolao Barbaro e il suo circolo' *Storia della Cultura Veneta* 3/1; P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Arts* (1990)

²⁰ V. Branca, 'Ermolao Barbaro and late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism', in Hale, *Renaissance Venice*, p. 218

²¹ F. Gilbert, 'Humanism in Venice', in *Florence and Venice, Comparisons and Relations*, vol. 1 *Quattrocento* (Florence 1979), pp. 13-15- only one Grand Chancellor of Venice was a humanist-Febo Capello, who was also a diplomatic secretary in the second half of the fifteenth century (see appendix five, p. 414); for Florence, see also A. Brown, *Bartolomeo Scala 1430-1497 Chancellor of Florence. The Humanist as Bureaucrat* (Princeton 1979)

number.²² The San Marco School, originally intended as a foundation for the *studia humanitatis*, focused upon the training of citizens for chancellery.

In Venice, humanistic studies were the preserve of a relatively small circle of individuals.²³ Humanist-trained Venetians were generally statesmen, more concerned with practical matters of policy than issues of a philosophical or theological nature. Responsibility and duty to serving the state was more important in their eyes to literary or academic study.²⁴ As King has shown, a large percentage of the humanists in her study held some of the most important posts in Venice; just four out of the forty-six patrician men in her study never held a 'major office' as she defined it.²⁵ The men King has identified as humanists, such as Bernardo Bembo and Bernardo Giustiniani, also held a variety of military and diplomatic commands for Venice, some very important and prestigious.²⁶ According to Vittore Branca, then, the nature of humanist thought which evolved in Venice was unique; it was concerned with the moral aspects of humanism, the dignity of the human spirit and the evolution of the human character.²⁷

Many of the men in my core group of Venetian ambassadors were humanist-trained. Margaret King's work reveals a strong correlation between humanism and diplomatic service in Venice; twenty-five humanists in her core group served as ambassadors and therefore appear in my prosopography (shown in figure B in the appendix three).²⁸ Beyond this twenty-five, many more of the men in the core group had intellectual interests. Leonardo Boldù, for example, was one of the few Venetians to study Greek in

²² King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 291, 302

²³ King defined ninety-two humanists active between 1400 and 1490, *Venetian Humanism*, p. xx; of these, sixty-four of the group were patricians and twenty-eight were commoners. Eighteen of these patricians were clergymen, leaving forty-six laymen (p. 277). Eight of the men in her group were secretaries (p. 291)

²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 19-20; Branca, 'Ermolao Barbaro and late Quattrocento Venetian humanism', p. 218

²⁵ King, *Venetian humanism*, pp. 279-82

²⁶ Gilbert, 'Humanism in Venice', p. 21; see also profiles in King's *Venetian Humanism*

²⁷ Branca, 'Ermolao Barbaro and late Quattrocento Venetian humanism', pp. 218 and 232

²⁸ For this figure see p. 396. It is worth noting that the fact that an individual was educated did not mean that he had been instructed in the *studia humanitatis*. Indeed, those members of the core group who were born at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century were less

this period,²⁹ while Francesco Sanuto was recognised as very learned, especially in astronomy.³⁰

Joyceline Russell has argued that ‘the history of ambassadors is in some sense the history of humanism’.³¹ This is reiterated by King’s study; she has stated that ‘civicism’ and service to the state was a key element in humanism,³² pointing to Bernardo Giustiniani, Bernardo Bembo and Ermolao Barbaro as exemplars of humanist public servants. Giustiniani, for example, wrote a history of Venice, served as an ambassador on numerous missions and sat on various magistracies in Venice.³³ Patricia Labalme has suggested that his interest in history was useful in his diplomatic service, ‘The lessons of the past could furnish the diplomat with a sense of things to come, with precedents which he could use as markers when he had to make his own way’. Giustiniani read as much history as he could and used his experiences as an ambassador to learn more about the lands about which he read. His understanding and appreciation of foreign lands was enhanced by the requirement of providing *relazioni* on the return from an embassy.³⁴ Moreover, he was not unique; ‘Venice offered the members of her ruling elite many opportunities to employ their humanist learning in a public arena’.³⁵ Humanists, after all had all the skills for government office; oratorical skills were important in government positions and on embassies, and managerial skills were useful in office at home.³⁶

Although only a minority of the core group had identifiable humanist interests (just over a fifth of the core group) they are an important group. If we look at the careers of these twenty-five men, we see that their role in the diplomatic representation of Venice was

likely to be humanist trained than those who were beginning their education in the middle of the fifteenth century.

²⁹ DBI vol. 11, pp. 270-72

³⁰ Cicogna, *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. 2, pp.112-13

³¹ Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance*, p. 71

³² King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 37

³³ *ibid.*, pp. 38-39; see also Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*, p. 1 and 15

³⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 251-52

³⁵ King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 39

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 39-40

particularly significant. Figures D and C, both in appendix three, allow us to compare those who had humanist-interests with the number of diplomatic offices each man held in his lifetime.³⁷ What this reveals is that the overwhelming majority of the humanist-trained men in my core group served on a large, even exceptional, number of diplomatic missions each during their careers.

As we have seen, there were just fifteen men in the core group of Venetian ambassadors who served on more than ten diplomatic posts in their lifetimes. Eleven of this fifteen had humanist interests (according to King). Six of the fifteen individuals served on ten missions or more between 1454 and 1494; of these just one (Giovanni Emo) was not noted by King as having humanist interests. Furthermore, while the average (*mean*) number of diplomatic posts held by men in the core group was four, the average number of posts held by individuals in the core group who were humanist-trained was eight.

The evidence quite clearly shows that those who had humanist-interests played an important role in Venetian diplomacy. While not numerically strong in the core group, this minority of men served on a number of missions wholly disproportionate to their numbers. One reason why humanist-trained individuals were so significantly involved in Venetian diplomacy must have been because of the skills with which humanism provided one-rhetoric, oratorical skills and so on. However, I would also suggest that their strong presence in Venetian diplomatic representation is also due to the fact that humanists (as King has shown) were an elite group- members of a high echelon in Venetian society and politics.

This is certainly reflected in the chronology of these men's lives. It is clear that most of the individuals in my core group were influenced by intellectual ideas *before* they were sent abroad as ambassadors. If we look at the publications of the humanists in the group (shown on the profiles in appendix one) we see that in most cases, individuals had

³⁷ For figures C and D see pp. 396-402

published their first humanist work before they were sent abroad as an ambassador. For example, Bernardo Bembo wrote several works in the early 1460s before serving as a diplomat or indeed holding any major political office (his first diplomatic post was to Castile in 1468)³⁸ Service abroad on a diplomatic embassy, then, did not necessarily 'make' a humanist, on the contrary, it may have been that humanists made good ambassadors. I would suggest that those humanists who became ambassadors were elected partly because of their skills, but also because they were part of a high political echelon, whose interest in humanism was one component of their elite status.

The role of humanist-trained men in Venetian diplomacy must have affected the transmission of cultural ideas outside and inside of Italy. The exchange of intellectual thought has been most commonly noted on the Venetian *terraferma*; as military and diplomatic commanders, Venetian humanists were deeply involved with the expansion of Venice on the *terraferma*. The new lands Venice conquered at the beginning of the fifteenth century provided not only revenue but employment for Venetian patricians as the *podestà* and *capitano* of subject towns. The eyes of Venetians were increasingly turned towards the mainland, it was here that they bought property and expanded their commercial contacts especially in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This expansion on the *terraferma* had an impact on Venetian cultural development. It led to increased contact with Italian trends in cultural thought and expression: Venetians learned from the lands they conquered. The Venetian patricians who became governors of these subject cities were often humanist-trained and through their offices were able to exchange intellectual ideas with foreigners.³⁹ Francesco Diedo, for example, formed links with a group of humanist

³⁸ For a complete and detailed chronology of the life of Bernardo Bembo, see Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, pp. 24-76

³⁹ For this whole paragraph see King, *Venetian Humanism* pp. 217-18 and Gilbert, 'Humanism in Venice', pp. 21-22

intellectuals when he was *podestà* of Brescia. Ludovico Foscari was able to do something similar when serving as *podestà* of Padua.⁴⁰

I would suggest that it was not only Venetian expansion in the *terraferma* which affected the flow of cultural ideas; it was also developments in diplomacy. In this period (and especially after the Peace of Lodi) diplomats were sent and received more frequently than ever before in order to administer the alliance systems of the later *Quattrocento*. Residency allowed ambassadors to remain in other states for long periods, with the possibility of building up humanist contacts and pursuing intellectual interests. Bernardo Bembo, for example, was heavily involved in Florentine intellectual life during his missions to Florence. He became close to Poliziano, Landino and especially Ficino, as well as forming links with Lorenzo de' Medici.⁴¹ Similarly, Barbone Morosini maximised his time while serving on a mission to Naples by making contact with Antonio Panormita and George of Trebizond. Nicolò Sagundino became friendly with the Neapolitan humanist circle while on a mission there.⁴²

There was, then, a strong correlation between holding diplomatic office and humanism in the second half of the fifteenth century. The overwhelming majority of the most successful ambassadors (in terms of the number of offices they held) had some sort of humanist background. Furthermore, some of the foremost humanists of the generation were ambassadors in this period, such as Bernardo Giustiniani, Bernardo Bembo, Ermolao Barbaro. These men formed contacts with humanists abroad as a direct result of their diplomatic service. They exchanged ideas with foreign intellectuals and maintained long

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 13

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 21; for more detail about the relationship between Bembo and the Medici and the links Bembo was able to form with Florentine humanists see chapter 6, p. 219-21 and V. Cian, 'Per Bernardo Bembo. Le sue relazioni coi Medici', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. 28 (1896), pp. 348-64; V. Cian, 'Per Bernardo Bembo. Le relazioni letterarie, i codici e gli scritti', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. 31 (1898), pp. 49-81; A. della Torre, 'La prima ambasceria di Bernardo Bembo a Firenze', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. 35 (1900), pp. 258-333; for a comprehensive survey of Bembo's life and his intellectual interests see Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, pp. 259-394 gives information about his cultural interests, and provides details of his letters and orations.

correspondence with them. Certainly the expansion of the *terraferma* impacted significantly on the cultural development of Venice; the holding of diplomatic office, however, broadened their horizons further.

PART B: AGE

The second factor affecting the success or failure of an individual pursuing diplomatic office was age. Indeed, age was a critical determinant in the ebb and flow of Venetian politics and society. In an article of 1978, Robert Finlay argued that Venice was a gerontocracy.⁴³ The major offices of Venice (and hence the power of the government) were in the hands of the old.⁴⁴ In the Renaissance, he argued, 'old age' was perceived as beginning when an individual was around forty years old. Yet the average age of doges at election between 1400 and 1600 was seventy-two. Some of the men who were elected as ambassadors to Constantinople in the same period were in their early seventies. Cristoforo Moro was elected *podestà* of Verona when he was seventy-three. Military posts were not normally awarded to young men.⁴⁵ In other words, there was a disparity between conventional and political old age.

High office was almost exclusively reserved for the old; young patricians were barred from entering the *Maggior Consiglio* (from which most offices were elected) until they were twenty-five, unless they entered by ballot through the *Balla D'Oro*. Some more minor offices were reserved for the young.⁴⁶ According to Finlay, individuals could not theoretically be elected to the Senate until they were thirty-two; in practice, however, they were not usually elected until they were fifty. Similarly, access to the Council of Ten was

⁴² King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 12-14

⁴³ R. Finlay, 'The Venetian Republic as a gerontocracy: age and politics in the Renaissance', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 8 (1978), pp. 157-178

⁴⁴ Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p. 126

⁴⁵ Finlay, 'The Venetian Republic as a gerontocracy', pp. 166-67

barred to the under-forties, although those elected to this council, Finlay argued, were more usually in their fifties. While ducal councillors could technically be elected at age twenty-five, most were significantly older than this.⁴⁷

For Finlay, this reliance on using older men to fill important government posts was one explanation for Venice's mythic political stability. The dominance of the *vecchi* in government meant that a political 'consensus' was easily reached.⁴⁸ Such a system promoted conservatism; Venice was governed by what Finlay has labelled 'careful old men'⁴⁹ who were (not surprisingly) loyal to a system under which they had served several decades of 'apprenticeship'.⁵⁰

This latter point is important- an accent on political old age also emphasised the need for patricians to be patient in pursuing their careers. Finlay has suggested that the typical career progression for a patrician would be exclusion from high office between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five. From forty-five to fifty-five, they would be admitted to the fringes of government. From their mid-fifties, they would expect to hold important posts in government (such as sitting on the Ten, the *Collegio*, the Senate). From their mid-sixties they would be regarded as having reached political 'old age' and would be expected

⁴⁶ Such as the *savio agli ordini* and membership of the *Quarantia*, see Sanuto, *De Origine, Situ e Magistratibus*, pp. 92-93, 94

⁴⁷ Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p. 126; for age restrictions imposed on offices in Venice; see also S. Chojnacki, 'La Formazione della nobilita dopo la serrata', pp 641-725 in *Storia di Venezia dalle origine alla caduta della serenissima*, vol. 31 *Formazione dello Stato Patrizio*, (ed.) G. Arnaldi, G. Cracco, A. Tenenti, pp. 711, 712; Chojnacki, 'Political adulthood', p. 791; Chojnacki suggests that young nobles were ready for major offices around the age of thirty years old- S. Chojnacki, 'Measuring Adulthood. Adolescence and gender in Renaissance Venice', *Journal of Family History*, vol. 17, no. 4 (1992), p. 379, 383; Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia*, p. 305 argues that the minimum age for election to office was twenty-five, but that individuals in practice were usually aged thirty-five to forty; Amelot de Houssaye, in *History of the Government of Venice*, p. 206, noted that the posts of *podestà* of Verona and Bergamo were usually given to Venetians of thirty-five to forty years of age who had already obtained many offices; for age restrictions in Florence, see Vedovato, 'La preparazione dei giovani alla diplomazia nella Repubblica fiorentina', pp. 83-96

⁴⁸ Finlay, 'The Venetian Republic as a gerontocracy', p. 174

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 178

⁵⁰ Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p. 137

to keep an eye on the younger members of the government. By this system, the *status quo*, and hence Venetian stability, was preserved.⁵¹

For the *giovani*, this exclusion from high office was a source of some hostility.⁵² Indeed generational antagonism was a perpetual issue in the political life of Renaissance Venice. Stanley Chojnacki has noted several occasions when young patricians disrupted the proceedings of the *Maggior Consiglio*. In 1442, for example, seven patricians (all under the age of thirty) burst out of the Council chamber.⁵³ In 1446, another group of young patricians disrupted the Council by suddenly leaving the chamber.⁵⁴

However, Chojnacki has shown that these young patricians who misbehaved were quickly assimilated into the political life of the Republic once they had turned twenty-five. Pietro Priuli was one of those involved in the fracas of 1442- he was made a member of the Forty at the young age of twenty-nine.⁵⁵ Similarly, Luca Pisani was one of those who dashed out of the council chamber four years later: in 1448 he too was elected to the Forty.⁵⁶ Chojnacki has shown that while the young typically were given the less prestigious jobs as a sort of apprenticeship before progressing on to higher office (something about which they were not especially happy)⁵⁷ most could expect to be elected to their first post before the age of thirty.⁵⁸ He argues 'In general, male adolescents appear to have been

⁵¹ Finlay, 'The Venetian Republic as a gerontocracy', p. 172; Amelot de Houssaye, *History of Government of Venice*, p. 19

⁵² Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 126-128- note Finlay's point that the *giovane* as a group had no philosophy or common ideal; for factionalism in the sixteenth century, see Lowry, 'The Reform of the Council of Ten, 1582-3', (1971), pp. 275-78; see also Chojnacki's discussion concerning gender and adolescence in Chojnacki, 'Measuring adulthood', pp. 371-94; for general issues concerning factionalism in the patrician class see my comments in chapter four, pp.116-17.

⁵³ Chojnacki, 'Political adulthood', p. 742

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 793

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 791 and see his profile in appendix one. Note that membership of the Forty was traditionally one of the first offices for younger patricians- see note 46 above.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 794 and see his profile in appendix one.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 796-97; for offices which were traditionally reserved for younger nobles see note 46 above; nobles may have sometimes tried to falsify their ages in order to bypass age restrictions. See Law, 'Age qualification and the Venetian constitution', pp. 125-137.

⁵⁸ Chojnacki, 'Political Adulthood', p. 805

gradually weaned away from rambunctious youth into conformist adulthood through a careful, gradual process with publicly ordered phases marked by ritual observance'.⁵⁹

The age of patricians when serving on diplomatic embassies is therefore a matter of some importance. Yet it is not an easy one to investigate. As we have seen, diplomatic careers could last several decades, and individuals could serve on a variety of missions, differing in length, orientation and prestige. As one might expect, there was a tendency for ambassadors to serve on less important embassies when they were younger, and progress to more prestigious missions in later life.⁶⁰

For reasons of practicality, then, I am approaching this issue by considering the age of individuals when they held their *first* diplomatic post, as this is something we can trace with some accuracy. The main way I have calculated the age of Venetian patricians and dated their entry into political life is by consulting the records of the *Balla D'Oro*. It is thought that from the age of eighteen, young patricians could be nominated to be enrolled by lottery in the *Balla D'Oro*; by such an approach, they could enter the *Maggior Consiglio* from age twenty rather than at the usual twenty-five.⁶¹ Annually, on 4th December, those individuals who submitted to the ballot were chosen, by the drawing out of a number of golden balls, to enter the *Maggior Consiglio*. About a fifth of those who entered the lottery were selected by this method; legislation later fixed the number who could be picked to thirty.⁶² As Chojnacki has noted, this provided the young with the opportunity of 'fast-tracking' into government service, as most official posts were allocated through the *Maggior Consiglio*.⁶³ This method of advancement became increasingly

⁵⁹ Chojnacki, 'Measuring Adulthood', p. 386

⁶⁰ See my discussion on whether there was a hierarchy of destinations to which an ambassador could be sent in chapter 2, pp. 63-65.

⁶¹ Law, 'Age qualification and the Venetian constitution', p. 128; Law also makes the point that nobles could enter into the lottery at any age up to twenty-five and could make repeated submissions to the *Balla D'Oro*, *ibid*, p. 131; Chojnacki, 'Measuring Adulthood', p. 379; Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia*, pp. 42-43

⁶² Law, 'Age qualification and the Venetian constitution', p. 130; Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia*, p. 43

⁶³ Chojnacki, 'Kinship ties and young patricians', pp. 243-244

attractive; by the middle of the fifteenth century, around 85 percent of all nobles who entered the *Maggior Consiglio* had at some point registered in the *Balla*.⁶⁴

Figure A in appendix three shows the individuals in the core group for whom I have located an entry in the *Balla D'Oro*. As can be seen, I have found entries for one hundred and one of the ambassadors in the core group (79 percent of the core group); I have not been able to find entries in the *Balla* for the other thirty-four men in the core group.⁶⁵ Birth dates have been established for one hundred and seven individuals in the core group, using their date of enrolment in the *Balla D'Oro* and various other sources.⁶⁶ These birth dates are shown in Figure H in appendix three.⁶⁷ From Figure H we can ascertain that the average (mean) age of the ambassadors in the core group on holding their first diplomatic post (for the one hundred and seven for whom we have a birth date) was forty-five.⁶⁸

Figure thirteen divides into six bands the ages of the ambassadors in the core group when they first held a diplomatic post (for the one hundred and seven individuals for whom we have a birth date). It indicates the number and percentage of individuals in the survey which fall into each band. It shows that it was most common for an individual to hold his first ambassadorial post between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine (see Group B.) However, figure thirteen also indicates that there was a considerable difference in the experiences of the men in the core group with regard to age; although it was uncommon to

⁶⁴ Chojnacki, 'Political adulthood', p. 802

⁶⁵ It should be noted that the *Balla D'Oro* in the ASV dates only from the first decade of the fifteenth century. As a result, those few men in the core group who were born in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century do not have an entry.

⁶⁶ The *Balla D'Oro* provides approximate birth dates for individuals as it usually notes how many years a man had 'completed' at his date of enrolment. Examples of individuals whose birth dates have been established from other sources show that even if their entry in the *Balla* notes that they have completed 18 years, they might be several years older than 18 at that date. As a result, the *Balla* only provides us with approximate birth dates. This point should be noted when considering the statistics given in this section- in the detailed case studies given, I have used examples of individuals whose birth date has also been established from other sources. Birth dates have also been ascertained from monographs, *DBI*, *Cronaca Matrimonia* and other miscellaneous sources.

⁶⁷ See pp. 403-06

hold a first diplomatic post before the age of thirty and after seventy, within this range, the ages of ambassadors on commencing diplomatic service were diffused quite equally. This shows, then, that there was no 'norm' in terms of when an individual took up his first diplomatic post in Venice: individuals could be aged between anything from thirty to sixty when they commenced diplomatic service.

Figure 13: The age of ambassadors on the holding of their first diplomatic post (note that ages given are approximate)⁶⁹

Code:

A: Individuals who held their first diplomatic post aged between 20-29

B: first diplomatic post held aged 30-39

C: first diplomatic post held aged 40-49

D: first diplomatic post held aged 50-59

E: first diplomatic post held aged 60-69

F: first diplomatic post aged 70 years and over

GROUP	NO.OF INDIVIDUALS FROM THE CORE GROUP	PERCENTAGE % *
<i>A</i>	6	6
<i>B</i>	37	34
<i>C</i>	28	26
<i>D</i>	21	20
<i>E</i>	11	10
<i>F</i>	4	4

* percentage of the total number of individuals in the core group for whom a birth date has been established (one hundred and seven in all).

A minority (less than one tenth of the core group) do not fit this paradigm. From figure thirteen above we can see that just six men held their first diplomatic post between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine. Of these, only one may have been as young as twenty-

⁶⁸ The discussion below inevitably focuses upon these men. Since this is nearly eighty percent of the core group, I would argue that it is a meaningful sample.

⁶⁹ See figure H in appendix 3 for the birth dates of ambassadors in the core group, pp. 403-06

five when he first held a diplomatic post; Pietro Morosini. Morosini was registered in the *Balla D'Oro* in 1448⁷⁰ and three years later was sent to the Duke of Savoy and Marquis of Monferrato with Marco Donato.⁷¹ Because we know little about Morosini, it is difficult to guess why he was apparently so young when he was sent on his first embassy. It is true, though, that a mission to the Duke of Monferrato in this period would not have necessitated the employment of a prestigious or experienced diplomat. Because this case is something of an exception, it may be possible (although it is unlikely) that this diplomatic post was held by a homonym of Pietro Morosini.

Although Morosini's case is unusual, when we look at some of the other individuals who held diplomatic office at a young age, a pattern begins to emerge. Nicolò da Canal, for example, held his first diplomatic post in 1442, when he was twenty-seven years old.⁷² This was the first in a long line of embassies; he served on three other missions before he was thirty. His final mission was in 1468 when he was fifty-three. Not only had Nicolò's diplomatic career taken off by the time he was thirty; he had also held the post of *savio di terraferma* before that date. When he was thirty-one, he sat on the *Consiglio di Dieci* and was captain of Brescia when he was thirty-six. He was ducal elector to Cristoforo Moro when he was forty-seven. In other words, Nicolò held a large number of diplomatic *and* political posts at (what Finlay would certainly argue) was an exceptionally young age. Not only that, but the posts he held were important; he was one of the *savi grandi* by the time he was fifty-one and by the age of thirty-four was sent on a mission to Rome, widely regarded as one of the most notable destinations to which an ambassador could be sent.⁷³

⁷⁰ Balla vol. 163/2, f. 308v

⁷¹ For his commission to the Duke of Monferrato see SS vol. 19, f. 176r

⁷² For birth date and for details of his life and career, see Balla vol. 162/1, f. 50v; King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 347-48; *DBI vol.17*, pp.662-67; Lowry, Nicolas Jenson, p. 9

⁷³ See my comments on the importance of Rome as a diplomatic centre in chapter 2, p.63-64.

Something similar happened with the diplomatic career of Girolamo Donato. He was ambassador to the Duke of Lorraine when he was about twenty-seven in 1483.⁷⁴ He served on another two more diplomatic missions before he was thirty. Again, Girolamo held a number of important political posts at a relatively young age. He was *podestà* of Ravenna when he was about thirty-six and one of the *avogadori* when he was thirty-eight. He was a ducal elector at age forty-five.

In order to appreciate the significance of these two examples, we need to refer to figure C in the appendix three in order to look again at the fifteen men who held ten or more diplomatic posts in the course of their careers (of which Da Canal and Donato are two) and consider their careers alongside figure H (which is located in appendix three and shows the ages of ambassadors on the date of holding their first diplomatic post).⁷⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know the birth date of one of these men- Orsato Giustiniani. Of the other fourteen however, eleven began their diplomatic career between the ages of twenty five and thirty-six. The other three (Giovanni Emo, Paolo Morosini and Bernardo Giustiniani) were all aged fifty or below on holding their first diplomatic post.

This information is important as we have already established that the average age of individuals on the holding of their first diplomatic office was forty-five. For the fourteen men who held ten diplomatic posts or more in their careers and for whom we have a birth date, their average age on commencing diplomatic service was significantly lower- thirty-four years old. In the case of the two examples already cited, Da Canal held seventeen posts in the course of his career, more than anyone else in the core group, and Girolamo Donato held twelve. We can conclude then, that the men who had the most numerically successful diplomatic careers,⁷⁶ also began their diplomatic service at a unusually young age. In a sense, this is obvious- men holding a large number of diplomatic posts would

⁷⁴ For birth date and for details of his life and career, see King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 366-68; *DBI* vol. 28, pp. 160-61; Balla vol. 3, f. 114r.

⁷⁵ For figures C and H see pp. 396-99, 403-06

have needed to start their careers early in order to have the time to hold such a large number of posts. On the other hand, it was entirely possible for an individual to begin their career in their mid to late forties and then go on to serve on a very large number of missions, as the case of Paolo Morosini or Bernardo Giustiniani shows. Furthermore, a number of these diplomatically successful men began their diplomatic careers at an *exceptionally* young age, just a decade or so after they were enrolled in to the *Balla d'Oro*.

At the other end of the scale, a very small number of individuals held their first ambassadorial post aged sixty-nine or above. Paolo Barbo was about sixty-nine when he was sent as ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Alexander VI in 1492.⁷⁷ This was the only diplomatic post he ever held. Similarly, Cristoforo Duodo's only diplomatic post was *in obedientia* to Alexander VI- he was seventy-four years of age in that year.⁷⁸ Marino Lion was sent on the same embassy (again the only diplomatic mission on which he ever served) fifty-five years after he was enrolled in the *Balla D'Oro*,⁷⁹ aged at least seventy-three. Gabriel Loredan served on just one diplomatic mission in 1483- this was at the age of at least seventy-two.⁸⁰ Andrea Vendramin, who served as doge between 1476 and 1478, had an exceptional career. His first diplomatic post was to Modena in 1467 when he was an extraordinary seventy-four years old. Over the next six years he serve on six more diplomatic embassies before becoming doge when he was eighty-three.⁸¹

We can establish two main points concerning these individuals who held their first diplomatic post at an older age. First, often those individuals who served on their first

⁷⁶ That is those individuals who held the greatest number of diplomatic offices in the course of their careers.

⁷⁷ Barbo was born around 1423 and enrolled in the *Balla D'Oro* in 1440 (Balla vol. 163/2, f. 47r); he was elected as ambassador to Pope Alessandro VI in 1492 (SS vol. 34, f. 142v)

⁷⁸ Duodo was born in 1418 and enrolled in the *Balla D'Oro* in 1442 (Balla vol. 163/2, f. 203r); he was elected as ambassador to Rome in 1492 (SS vol. 34, f. 142v)

⁷⁹ Lion was enrolled in the *Balla D'Oro* in 1437 (Balla 163/2, f. 292r)- see SS vol. 34, f. 142v for mission to Rome in 1492

⁸⁰ Loredan was enrolled in the *Balla D'Oro* in 1429 (Balla 162/1, f. 89r); for his embassy to the captain general see his commission SS vol. 30, f. 175v-176v

⁸¹ Vendramin was enrolled in the *Balla D'Oro* in 1418 (Balla 162/1, f. 145r); for his career see Da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia*, pp. 133-37 and *Enc. It. vol. 35, p.43*

embassy forty or more years after they were entered into the *Balla D'Oro* held just one or perhaps two diplomatic posts in their lifetime; they were diplomatically active for an extremely short length of time. Second, most of the missions on which they were sent were honorary; these were men chosen for missions which required an individual of particular social and political standing, matters which in Venice, were very much related to age.

This attitude to using older men for more prestigious missions and the importance of ambassadors being an 'acceptable' age, is reflected in the reports of foreign ambassadors about Venetians. The Milanese ambassador in Venice in 1492 described the forthcoming Venetian ambassador to Milan (Benedetto Trevisan) as '*...persona molto zentile et destra; ...de età de circha a 40 anni*'.⁸² Clearly forty years old was regarded as extremely acceptable in terms of age for a resident ambassador; in 1490, Paolo Trevisan, the resident in Milan, was noted as '*asai zentilpersona*', also forty years of age.⁸³ Individuals chosen as ambassadors *in obedientia* were men of particular standing. Cristoforo Duodo, Sebastiano Badoer, Marino Lion and Paolo Barbo, who as we noted above were sent to Rome in 1492, were described by the Milanese ambassador in Venice as '*tuti de gran auctoritate et reputatione: et vecchi de più de 60 anni*'.⁸⁴ Youth does seem to be associated with less respect and inexperience. Leonardo Botta noted in 1479 that Bertucio Gabriel and Francesco Michiel were '*homeni zoueni: et de pochissima reputatione*'.⁸⁵

The end of a diplomatic career could vary and was in part dependent on the age of the individual when his career had started. Figure H in appendix three shows that about half the individuals in the core group continued to serve as ambassadors until their late forties to late sixties.⁸⁶ It was uncommon to be first employed as an ambassador aged over

⁸² 'a very courteous and skilful person... about forty years old', ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 379, 14 July 1492

⁸³ *ibid.*, cart. 375, 16 March 1490

⁸⁴ 'all of great authority and reputation, and over sixty years old', *ibid.*, cart. 379, 12 Nov. 1492

⁸⁵ 'young men and of very little reputation', *ibid.*, cart. 364, 9 July 1474

⁸⁶ See pp. 403-06

sixty-five and was extremely rare for an individual to serve as a diplomat when aged seventy-five or over (we have only one such example of this- Andrea Vendramin who was described above). The average (mean) age of the ambassadors in the core group (for whom we have a birth date) at the end of their final diplomatic embassy was fifty-five.

These data allow us to consider Finlay's comments in the light of the experiences of the Venetian ambassador. We have seen that his statements concerning 'political' old age do not correspond exactly with diplomatic 'old age'. Finlay has argued that men generally attained high political office only in their late fifties; as we have seen above, however, the average age of ambassadors at their first mission was rather lower than that. On the other hand, those more prestigious and important missions were clearly reserved for older men. This reiterates the point that there were probably an informal hierarchy of destinations to which an individual could be sent; minor embassies might be reserved for the young to allow them to gain some experience of diplomatic office.⁸⁷

Our analysis of ambassadors' ages re-emphasises the impossibility of establishing a 'norm' - there was a great variety in the diplomatic experiences of these men. Individuals could be aged anywhere from thirty to sixty when they commenced their diplomatic service. This discussion has also shown how a minority of the core group held their first diplomatic office at an exceptionally young age. These same men were also those who held a large number of diplomatic offices in the course of their careers, many over ten in their lifetimes. Just as many of these men were humanist-trained, intellectual elites, so too were they politically young.

PART C: EXPERIENCE

The men who were employed as Venetian ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century were not defined by their diplomatic service: they participated in a number

of other activities. The most important of these was in the public sphere, as politicians and public servants inside and outside Venice. This issue will be the focus of this last part of the chapter, and is a matter I return to in a moment. First, however, I want to consider another type of experience, mercantile and commercial, which was common among the core group men and which relates very much to my comments in the last chapter concerning family wealth. As we have seen, commerce was important as it was the preserve of the nobility in this period and also because merchants' consuls were one type of resident agent that Venice employed abroad before the development of the resident ambassador.

As we noted in chapter four, mercantile activity was crucial to the survival of the patrician class in the fifteenth century, and young nobles were frequently involved in commercial activities. J.C. Davis has noted that commercial experience could be useful for the young patrician who wanted to succeed in politics. Because high political office was reserved for the middle-aged, the young noble could spend most of his time as a merchant, perhaps holding some minor political posts. Later in life he could devote his time to public service; the wealth accrued during his mercantile career would be useful in maintaining his lifestyle as a politician or diplomat. Moreover, the experience he attained while a merchant (knowledge of shipping and the Venetian overseas empire) would be good qualifications for public service in Venice.⁸⁸

Certainly this was the career pattern of some of men in the core group: a number who went on to serve as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century had experience as merchants in their youth (particularly in the East). The two most prominent examples of this are Giosafat Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini. Both were active as merchants as young men and both held the post of consul at some point in their careers; Barbaro was consul in Corone and Modone in 1448, while Contarini was consul in

⁸⁷ See also my comments in chapter 2, pp. 63-65

Alexandria in 1490. Both men served on just one diplomatic embassy- to Persia in 1473. The fact that they had been merchants and consuls in the East before their diplomatic commission must have affected their being chosen as ambassadors on such a long and dangerous embassy. Such a mission would have required particular skills and abilities and which merchants already trading in the East might have been able to pick up (such as navigational skills, ability to travel long distances, and so on).⁸⁹

Venetian merchants were also active in Western Europe in the fifteenth century, and particularly in France, England and Flanders. Like those who had experience of trading in the East, then, we might expect those who were merchants in the West to be the natural choice as ambassadors there. Unfortunately I can find no direct evidence of this for the years between 1454 and 1494; there was very little Venetian diplomatic representation in England in this period. However, the first official ambassadors to England (Pietro Contarini and Luca Vallaresso, sent in 1496) had both been merchants there previously.⁹⁰ Pietro Contarini had even held the post of consul.⁹¹

While many of the men in the core group had mercantile experience, still more had experience of political office. Those who had were merchants tended to concentrate upon commerce in their youth and then turn their attentions to a political or diplomatic career later in life. Those who had experience of minor political office in their youth tended to continue holding political office throughout their careers, intermingling the holding of diplomatic office with public office in Venice and the *terraferma*.

It is well known that political power in Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth century was concentrated in the hands of comparatively few men.⁹² Paul Grendler, in a

⁸⁸ J.C. Davis, 'Shipping and spying in the early career of a Venetian doge, 1496-1502, *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., XVI (1974), pp. 97-98

⁸⁹ See their travelogue- Barbaro and Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*

⁹⁰ Although note that Bernardo Bembo may have visited there in 1483/84 while on a mission to France (see his profile in appendix 1 and footnote 61, p. 61 in chapter 2)

⁹¹ Firpo, *Ambasciatori Veneti in Inghilterra*, p. xii; for a list of the consuls to England between 1440 and 1499 see Brown, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, p. cxxx

⁹² Chojnacki, 'In search of the Venetian patriciate', pp. 47-90; King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 277

prosopographical study of patrician men in sixteenth-century Venice has reiterated this point. He has argued that not only was political office dominated by a small number of men, but that these men were able to maintain virtually oligarchic control over the state through their consistent domination of the executive councils of Venice.⁹³

Bearing these issues in mind, this last part of the chapter considers the political involvement of the men in the core group inside Venice and on the *terraferma*.⁹⁴ I show that Venetian ambassadors were extremely active in both these fields, indeed they held many of the *most* important public posts inside and out of Venice. What interests me in particular is the relationship between the holding of public office in Venice and the *terraferma* and diplomatic office abroad in this period. For example, did holding office at home or on the *terraferma* improve one's chances of serving as an ambassador abroad or vice versa? Was diplomatic office awarded to those men who had obtained particular types of political experiences? This links to another issue- the extent to which individuals in the core group were able to *combine* diplomatic service abroad with holding public office in Venice. This is a vital point: I suggest that the peculiarities of political office holding in Venice profoundly affected the diplomatic service patricians were able to provide.

From the profiles in appendix one, it is immediately obvious that the men who served as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century held a variety of posts inside Venice and on the *terraferma*. They sat in the *Collegio*, the Senate, the Council of Ten and served as *rectori* across the *terraferma*. While also serving on embassies abroad, it is clear that these men were also pre-eminently important in the functioning of the Venetian political state on a daily basis. They were statesmen, men whose public life was not only defined by their diplomatic service; there is no evidence for Venice in this period

⁹³ Grendler, 'The leaders of the Venetian state', pp. 35-37

⁹⁴ I use the word 'career' for reasons of simplicity- I am aware that the notion of a 'career' can be very modern. When I talk about a 'diplomatic career', I mean the years in which an individual was diplomatically active- the same applies to a political career.

of the 'career' or 'serial' diplomat, who held a number of diplomatic posts consecutively throughout his lifetime.⁹⁵

The men who served Venice as ambassadors were therefore elected to a variety of political posts in Venice. I want to consider three of the most important here: the *savi grandi*, the Procurators of San Marco and the doge himself. Figure fourteen represents the numbers of individuals in the core group who were also *savi grandi* during their lifetimes. There were six *savi grandi* at any one time, elected on a six monthly basis. They sat in the *Collegio* along with the *savi di terraferma* and the *savi agli ordini* and were primarily responsible for general government affairs. Of the three, the *savi grandi* were the highest ranking.⁹⁶ Figure fourteen shows that sixty of the one hundred and thirty-five men in the core group at some point in their careers held this post (that is 44 percent of the total number of ambassadors in the core group).

Figure 14: Ambassadors who also held the post of savio grande

Badoer	Sebastiano	Contarini	Bertucio	Emo	Giorgio
Barbarigo	Girolamo	Contarini	Maffeo	Emo	Giovanni
Barbaro	Giosfat	Corner	Federico	Foscarini	Ludovico
Barbaro	Zaccaria	Corner	Marco	Foscarini	Nicolò
Barbo	Paolo	Da Canal	Nicolò	Giorgio	Domenico
Boldù	Antonio	Dandolo	Marco	Giorgio	Girolamo
Bollani	Candiano	Diedo	Francesco	Giustiniani	Bernardo
Bollani	Domenico	Diedo	Pietro	Giustiniani	Orsato
Bragadin	Ludovico	Donato	Antonio	Gritti	Triadano
Capello	Paolo	Donato	Girolamo	Lando	Vitale
Capello	Vettori	Duodo	Cristoforo	Lion	Marino

⁹⁵ This sort of diplomat was certainly employed elsewhere in Italy (especially by Milan) by the second half of the fifteenth century- see chapter 6, pp. 201.

⁹⁶ For a discussion of the office of *savio grande* see Sanuto, *De Origine, Situ e Magistratibus*, pp. 93-94; Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia*, pp. 331-33; Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*; see also Queller, *Office of Ambassador*, pp. 152-53; he quotes Baschet's comment that no Venetian could be elected as ambassador to a great lord unless he was already a *savio grande*.

Lion	Nicolò	Morosini	Marcantonio	Trevisan	Domenico
Loredan	Antonio	Morosini	Paolo	Trevisan	Zaccaria
Loredan	Gabriel	Pasqualigo	Giovanni	Tron	Francesco
Loredan	Giacomo		Francesco	Tron	Nicolò
Malipiero	Pasquale	Pisani	Paolo	Vendramin	Andrea
Marino	Carolo	Priuli	Antonio	Venier	Francesco
Michiel	Maffeo	Priuli	Pietro	Vettori	Antonio
Mocenigo	Pietro	Sanuto	Francesco	Vettori	Matteo
Moro	Cristoforo	Soranzo	Nicolò		
Moro	Domencio	Soranzo	Victori		

Figure 15: Ambassadors who also held the post of Procurator of San Marco

FIRST NAME	SURNAME	DATE WHEN ATTAINED POST
Agostino	Barbarigo	1485
Girolamo	Barbarigo	1467
Marco	Barbarigo	1478
Zaccaria	Barbaro	1487
Paolo	Barbo	1502
Antonio	Bernardo	1504
Ludovico	Bragadin	1497
Paolo	Capello	1524
Bertucio	Contarini	1485
Federico	Corner	1485
Cristoforo	Duodo	1491
Giorgio	Emo	1516
Ludovico	Foscarini	1471
Bernardo	Giustiniani	1474
Orsato	Giustiniani	1459
Andrea	Lion	1473
Marino	Lion	1500
Nicolò	Lion	1496
Gabriel	Loredan	1480
Giacomo	Loredan	1467
Ludovico	Loredan	1442
Nicolò	Michiel	1500
Nicolò	Mocenigo	1492
Pietro	Mocenigo	1471
Cristoforo	Moro	1448
Marcantonio	Morosini	1503
Benedetto	Pesaro	1500
Pietro	Priuli	1482
Vettore	Soranzo	1481
Domenico	Trevisan	1503
Nicolò	Tron	1466
Andrea	Vendramin	1467
Francesco	Venier	1475
Matteo	Vettore	1460

Figure 16: Ambassadors who later served as Doges of Venice

FIRST NAME	SURNAME	DATE OF DOGESHIP
<i>Pasquale</i>	<i>Malipiero</i>	<i>1457-62</i>
<i>Cristoforo</i>	<i>Moro</i>	<i>1462-71</i>
<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>Tron</i>	<i>1471-73</i>
<i>Pietro</i>	<i>Mocenigo</i>	<i>1474-76</i>
<i>Andrea</i>	<i>Vendramin</i>	<i>1476-78</i>
<i>Giovanni</i>	<i>Mocenigo</i>	<i>1478-85</i>
<i>Marco</i>	<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>1485-86</i>
<i>Agostino</i>	<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>1486-1501</i>

The procuratorship of San Marco was one of the most prestigious offices in Venice, second only to the doge. There were nine procurators in all (including the *Procuratori di Sopra, di Citra and d'Ultra*) elected for life by the *Maggior Consiglio*. As Reinhold Mueller has shown, this office was not purely honorary; procurators were treasurers for the Republic and had a significant role in the financial and economic life of the republic.⁹⁷ The doge was normally elected from their number. Figure fifteen shows that thirty-four of the men in the core group attained this office (over a quarter of the men in the core group).

The final office I want to consider is that of the doge itself. There has been some discussion over the real authority of the doge in Venice in the Renaissance.⁹⁸ He has been regarded by many as a figurehead; powerless, but essential in the ceremonial face of Venetian government, hide-bound by his restrictive oath. However, this image of the doge has been subject to some reappraisal. Robert Finlay has argued that the limiting clauses imposed upon the doge through his oath of office implied that he could potentially be a powerful figure, whose authority might need to be curbed. Indeed, he argued that the doge was central in Venetian government; he was responsible for supervising the chancellery, for

⁹⁷ R.C. Mueller, 'The Procurators of San Marco in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; a study of the office as a financial and trust institution', *Studi Veneziani*, vol. 13 (1971) pp. 105-220

⁹⁸ For an anthropological view of the role of the doge see A. Bolholm, *The Doge of Venice: The Symbolism of State Power in the Renaissance* (Gothenburg 1990); for the importance of family in ducal elections see Finlay, 'Politics and the Family in Renaissance Venice', pp. 97-99.

overseeing judicial affairs and maintaining competence in government. He sat on the most important councils in Venice.⁹⁹

Figure sixteen shows the number of men in the core group who later in their careers became doges of Venice.¹⁰⁰ As it can be seen, every doge who served the Republic between 1457 and 1501 also served on at least one diplomatic embassy, with the sole exception of Nicolò Marcello. Even Marcello, as we can see from the profiles in appendix one, was elected as ambassador to Rome in 1471, but presumably turned down the post, as he does not appear in the commission.¹⁰¹

However, if we look at the biographical profiles of these men, we see that their diplomatic experience was relatively minor. Five of the doges of second half of the fifteenth century (Giovanni and Pietro Mocenigo, Agostino and Marco Barbarigo, Cristoforo Moro) held just one diplomatic post in their lifetimes; most of these posts were honorary. Nicolò Tron held just two posts. The only doges who did have significant diplomatic experience were Pasquale Malipiero and Andrea Vendramin. Both men served on at least five embassies, both honorary and otherwise.

Therefore, the men who became doges in the second half of the fifteenth century were generally not high ranking ambassadors. Those missions they served on tended to be honorary, prestigious missions, rather than politically important ones. Indeed, if we look at those men who held a large number of diplomatic posts, those we could define as high ranking ambassadors, we see that they were not able to attain the highest political offices in Venice. Domenico Trevisan, for instance, held a large number of diplomatic posts in his career. He did become a Procurator of San Marco and was in the running for the ducal election in 1523. It is often thought that one reason for his failure to be elected was because

⁹⁹ Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 110-124; see also Chambers, *Imperial Age of Venice*, pp. 86-92

¹⁰⁰ Note also that Bernardo Giustiniani was the major opponent to Agostino Barbarigo in 1486 and Domenico Trevisan was one of the favourites in the ducal election of 1523; see Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 133-34.

of his large number of children; I would suggest that one other reason may have been the large amount of time he spent on diplomatic missions abroad, which may have affected the prospects of his career at home.¹⁰²

Beyond these three offices, the men in the core group served on a variety of other magistracies. As can be seen from appendix one, a large number were ducal electors, *avogadori* and *consiglieri*; many sat on the Council of Ten during their careers. Furthermore, many of the men who went on to become Venetian ambassadors were also employed in the *terraferma*. Figure F in the appendix shows that the majority of men in the core group (77 percent) held at least one post in the *terraferma* (including *podestà*, *provveditore*, *capitano*, and *visdomino* posts). Many held far more than this. They were principally sent to the major centres, especially Brescia, Bergamo, Friuli, Padua.

The chronology of the political and diplomatic office holding of the Venetian ambassadors is vitally important in ascertaining whether it was diplomatic office which enhanced one's political promotion prospects, or whether political experience was seen as a prerequisite for an aspiring ambassador. As we have already noted, there was undeniably a sort of 'hierarchy' in the places to which ambassadors were sent. The young and inexperienced were generally sent on the lowly, simple missions while more complex and prestigious embassies were reserved for the seasoned diplomat.

However, were these prestigious embassies also reserved for the politically experienced? As we have seen below in chapter two, it is extremely difficult to determine which were the 'prestigious' or important diplomatic embassies in the second half of the fifteenth century. The only clear way we have of looking at this is by considering the ambassadors who were sent *in obedientia* to Rome at the accession of a new Pope. These honorary embassies were important and the significance of the mission needed to be reflected in the prestige of the ambassadors sent. If we look back to figure nine in chapter

¹⁰¹ For the election of Marcello to this post see SS vol. 24, f. 60v; note that he is not included in

four and compare the list of ambassadors *in obedientia* with figures fourteen and fifteen we see that almost all of those sent as ambassadors *in obedientia* held the post of *savio grande* or Procurator of San Marco at some point in their careers.

This of course is hardly surprising: these were prestigious missions requiring patricians of high standing (which in republican Venice, at least partly translated into political prominence). What is more unexpected is their political status when sent on the mission *in obedientia*. The profiles indicate that these diplomats to Rome had only rarely attained the office of *savio grande* or procurator *before* they were sent. Only a third to a half of those sent on these missions had already joined the ranks of the *savi grandi*, while a fraction (perhaps one or two) held the post of Procurator of San Marco before they were sent on the mission *in obedientia*.

This is unexpected because we might have anticipated that the Republic would award these prestigious embassies to men who had already attained prominence in Venetian political circles. It seems to me that this could be explained in two ways. First, it could be that diplomatic office was seen as preparation for holding high office at home; holding a post *in obedientia* might be seen as precursor to holding political office. Diplomatic service, then, may have been one means of fast-tracking into government service.¹⁰³ While I think that this is in part true, I would suggest that it is also likely that those men who were sent as ambassadors *in obedientia* were *already* widely regarded in Venice as high-ranking patricians, who would be expected to hold high political office in the very near future. It is indicative that almost all became *savi grandi* or procurators of

the final commission- see SS vol. 24, f. 84r; see my reference to this in appendix 1, p. 375

¹⁰² Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p.p. 133-34

¹⁰³ See Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility*, pp. 29-30. Davis argues that there were five possible career patterns for young patricians. One was to progress through governor-ships on the mainland, the second was to work through the committees of the *Collegio*, beginning as a *savio agli ordini*. The third way was to be sent as an ambassador to a hierarchy of cities, working up from posts in places like Savoy and the Netherlands to missions in Rome and Vienna. The final two routes for young patricians was via a career in the army or navy.

San Marco *soon* after they held these prestigious posts. In the case of the *savio grande*, most ambassadors *in obedientia* held the post a year or two after they returned.

It is clear that it was not common practice in Venice to send a Procurator of San Marco on a diplomatic embassy. If we look at those in the core group who were awarded a diplomatic post *while* they were Procurator of San Marco, the number is surprisingly small. Just twelve of the thirty-three men who held the post of Procurator of San Marco were sent on missions after they were appointed to this position. Six of these twelve were sent on just one mission while they were procurators. Three of these missions were to Rome. Two individuals, Domenico Trevisan and Andrea Vendramin, went on to hold a series of diplomatic posts after they had been made procurators of San Marco. Trevisan held at least another six diplomatic posts after he had been made Procurator in 1503, while Vendramin held another five. Yet this was clearly exceptional. The missions on which these men were sent were honorary and required men of a particular political status. They went to Rome more frequently than anywhere else, but were also sent to Ferrara, France and Milan. One also gets the impression that ambassadors such as Domenico Trevisan were so reliable and experienced that sometimes they were sent on difficult missions, irrespective of their political status.¹⁰⁴

I suggest, then, that not only was political experience a prerequisite for some of the more important and prestigious embassies, but that diplomatic service was also a route to promotion in political office. Personal and familial prestige was important in attaining political and diplomatic office; at the same time, personal renown was achieved in part through political experience. The honorary missions sent by Venice required men of good reputation; in Venice (as a republic) this reputation was at least partly bound up with political service to the state. Individuals sent on embassies *in obedientia*, then, were always men with great experience in the political life of Venice, although, as we have seen,

probably little diplomatic experience. At the same time diplomatic service could benefit one's career at home. An embassy seen to be successful would have enhanced the reputation of the serving ambassador. True, it could mean that an individual was recruited again into diplomatic service abroad (about which he might not be especially happy). Equally, however, the credit he garnered from a successful mission abroad, might easily have affected his prospects at home.

We can see evidence of this, at least numerically, if we compare the number of diplomatic and political posts that the men in the core group held. The evidence is particularly striking if we look again at the group of fifteen men who held more than ten diplomatic posts in their lifetimes.¹⁰⁵ Five of these individuals became procurators of San Marco. Zaccaria Barbaro, for instance, was ambassador for Venice on at least twelve occasions; he also held thirty-one posts which I defined above as 'major'.¹⁰⁶ Nicolò Da Canal served on seventeen diplomatic posts for the republic, and again held at least thirty-one major posts at home and on the *terraferma*.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, every one of these individuals, except one, was also appointed to at least ten 'major' non-diplomatic offices in their lifetimes.¹⁰⁸ Only two men did not hold either the post of *savio grande* or procurator-Bernardo Bembo and Giorgio Pisani. Both of these men, however, served on a large number of Venetian magistracies; Bembo was a ducal elector, *avogador*, *consigliere*, member of the Council of Ten and held many posts on the *terraferma*,¹⁰⁹ while Pisani was *avogador*, *savio di terraferma* and *consigliere*.¹¹⁰ This evidence *seems* to suggest then, that the men who served on a large number of diplomatic embassies in this period also tended to hold a large number of political posts and that diplomatic service was not a

¹⁰⁴ See chapter 6 (pp. 219-21; we know that Bernardo Bembo was used in this way when he was appointed ambassador to Florence in the 1470

¹⁰⁵ See Figure C in appendix 3, pp. 396-99

¹⁰⁶ King, *Venetian Humanism*, 325-27; *DBI* vol. 6, pp.83-84

¹⁰⁷ King, *Venetian Humanism*, 347-48; *DBI* vol. 17, pp. 662-67

¹⁰⁸ The one exception is Giorgio Pisani, for whom I have only located three non-diplomatic posts (see his profile in appendix 1).

¹⁰⁹ See Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, pp. 24-76

disadvantage one's political career. As I show below, the reality of the situation in Venice was rather more complicated

What is particularly striking about the political/diplomatic lives of these men was the extent to which they *combined* holding repeated diplomatic office abroad with pursuing successful political careers at home: one year they would hold a diplomatic post perhaps and the next a political post in Venice. A year later they might be abroad again on an embassy. It was a fundamental of the Venetian system of government to rotate offices of course; most political posts were only held for two years at a time. This ensured that the state needed a fairly large group of men from which to draw their office-holders.¹¹¹

The best way to illustrate this is to look at the careers of certain men in the core group, which are given in more detail in the profiles in appendix one. Girolamo Barbarigo, for instance, began his career as captain of a galley in Flanders before he became *savio di terraferma* and *consigliere*.¹¹² Then in 1451-52 he was sent as ambassador to Genoa before returning to hold the post of captain of Verona in 1452 and a number of other posts in Venice. In 1453 he was made captain of Brescia and then was sent as ambassador to Naples and Rome in 1454. On his return he was a lieutenant in Friuli and ducal elector to Pasquale Malipiero, as well as a *savio grande*. In 1458 he was again away, this time *in obedientia* to Pius II. For six years he did not hold an ambassadorial post, but was an *avogadar*, *savio grande*, *consigliere* and ducal elector to Cristoforo Moro. In 1464 he was again ambassador *in obedientia*, this time to Paul II. In the same year, he was also ambassador to Milan. He was elected to the position of *savio grande* repeatedly in the 1460s and was made Procurator of San Marco in 1467. His last military/diplomatic missions were in 1466 and 1467 to the captain-general.

¹¹⁰ For more details, see Pisani's biographical profile in appendix one.

¹¹¹ Pullan, 'The occupations and investments', p. 395

¹¹² For details of Barbarigo's career see *DBI* vol. 6, pp. 66-67, King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 319-20

This sort of career progression was not at all unusual for the individuals in the core group. Girolamo Barbarigo's career, however, was exceptional in the sense that it was particularly active. If he had not died in 1467 it is quite possible that it may have been he and not his brothers Agostino and Marco who became doge. An example of an individual with a less active career was Pietro Molin; his experience, though reveals a similar combination of holding offices abroad and posts at home (or in his case posts on the *terraferma*).¹¹³ He was sent as the ambassador to Duke Stefano of Santa Sava in 1464, and to Frederick III in 1469. He was captain of Belluno in the same year, and a year later was ambassador to Milan. Two years later in 1472, he was ambassador to Croatia, returning to Venice a year later to hold the post of *savio agli ordini*. Similarly, Bertucio Gabriel was *savio agli ordini* in 1450 and 1451. We know nothing about him for about twenty years when he was made ambassador to Bologna in 1474. This was followed by a series of diplomatic posts over the next six years. In 1480 he returned to Venice to hold the post of *savio di terraferma* and to sit on the Council of Ten.¹¹⁴

Although it seems contradictory, then, it is clear that Venetians constantly mixed service abroad with holding political office at home. Indeed, the political system in Venice encouraged this. The nature of awarding diplomatic office in Venice meant that any patrician sitting in the Great Council could technically be called to serve abroad as an ambassador. Equally, they could be appointed to serve on a political post in Venice or the *terraferma*. Diplomats and politicians, then, were continually drawn from the same, relatively small pool; this system meant that no one was particularly disadvantaged (or that everyone was disadvantaged, depending on one's view of the popularity of holding diplomatic office). At the same time, those patricians who had been elected to serve on missions were drawn back into political circles at home by being invited to hold various government posts *ex officio* on their return.

¹¹³ For Molin's career, see King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 403-05

Venice therefore tried to mitigate the effects of serving abroad; however, I would argue that taking up a post as ambassador must have affected one's political career at home. Individuals were absent from the Venetian political system, unable to hold public office at home, and were presumably excluded from the usual networks of political gossip. As we saw above, the doges of Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century did serve diplomatically, but only in a minor way and were usually absent from Venice for very limited periods (in many cases a year or two). Despite the fact that top-ranking diplomats also tended to hold a large number of political offices, long-term service abroad may well have stopped them from reaching the peak of political office-holding in Venice and being elected to the *most* prestigious offices in the state, such as that of the doge.

Having said that, combining diplomatic and political office for a Venetian was probably not just a possibility but a necessity. The distinction I have drawn between political office *in* Venice and diplomatic office *outside* may not have even been perceived by contemporaries; both were means of serving the state and enhancing one's personal prestige and reputation. Both were duties that had to be performed on pain of large fines.

It seems to me that this aspect of Venetian diplomatic practice was profoundly related to the republic's political system. Venice had to employ men on missions for a few years at most partly because the men who were Venetian diplomats were also experienced politicians and so were required in Venice itself at regular intervals in order to fill political office. Furthermore, the flexibility of the Venetian political and diplomatic system meant that it was quite feasible to hold both political office at home and diplomatic office abroad in quick succession.¹¹⁵

What sort of man became a Venetian ambassador in the second half of the fifteenth century? As we have seen, this is a difficult question to answer in detail due to the great variety of experiences in the core group. We can say that he might be someone with

¹¹⁴ On Gabriel's career see *DBI*, vol. 51, pp. 34-36

education, possibly in the *studia humanitatis*. On taking up his first diplomatic post, he could be anywhere from his mid-thirties to mid-sixties. He would be a man who would expect to do well politically in Venice, although might not reach the highest levels of political achievement if he was absent from Venice for long periods.

As stated above, historians widely agree that political office was in the hands of a small number of men (an individuals) in the Renaissance period. In chapter four, I considered whether this argument can be applied to diplomacy; in fact I showed that it was not clans which dominated Venetian diplomacy, but individuals. This emphasis on the individual has been corroborated by the present chapter. Our analysis of intellectual interests, age and political experience highlights a minority group of ten individuals whose distinctiveness makes them stand out from the rest of the core group. These men were Sebastiano Badoer, Zaccaria Barbaro, Bernardo Bembo, Nicolò Da Canal, Girolamo Donato, Ludovico Foscari, Bernardo Giustiniani, Paolo Morosini, Paolo Pisani and Zaccaria Trevisan. All served on ten or more diplomatic missions in their careers. Every one of them had humanists interests; five were *dottore*. Their average (mean) age on commencing diplomatic service was thirty-five. All held major political posts in Venice. These men were not just a 'diplomatic elite' but could also be defined as 'elites' from at least three other perspectives, something which again challenges the validity of the phrase as a descriptor of such a varied group. The contribution of this group, and their peers, to the development of Venetian diplomacy in the transitional period of the late fifteenth century was strongly influenced by their experiences, political and otherwise, which in turn were a product of the Venetian political system.

¹¹⁵ For a comparison of Venetian practice with that of other states, see chapter six.

CHAPTER 6

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE 1454-94- THE MOVE TO RESIDENCY

The nature of diplomacy changed profoundly in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Historians have shown that there was a gradual move towards permanence in diplomacy, particularly in the last decades of the *Quattrocento*. While we know that this was the general trend in Italy at this time, we know less about how this rate of change varied across the states of Italy and Europe, and how smooth and constant the transition was. This period of Italian diplomacy is often described, if not defined, as a dialectic between increasing resident embassies at the expense of special missions; little distinction is drawn between the different experiences of Italian states.

For Venice, though, the use of resident missions did not become the 'norm', even in the last decades of the fifteenth century. The paradigm of resident-special diplomacy is too simplistic to explain the nature and development of Venetian diplomatic practice. Venice was evolving permanent diplomatic institutions, but at a slower rate than in some other Italian states. Special embassies were still used very frequently. Why this was the case lies partly in the external politics of the period after the Peace of Lodi and the role that Venice played in the alliance structures of the era. However, it was also due to the personnel who served on Venetian missions, who were, in turn, a product of Venetian republicanism.

PART A: BACKGROUND***Political events 1454-1494***

The development of Italian diplomatic institutions and practices in the second half of the fifteenth century was closely linked with political events in Italy during these decades.¹ This period witnessed the Peace of Lodi and subsequent formation of an 'Italian League', which Milan, Venice, Florence, the papacy and Alfonso of Aragon had agreed to join by 1455. The league was initially designed to last for twenty-five years with the principal objective of keeping Italy free from external threats; in particular, it aimed to counter Turkish incursions and prevent French intervention in Italian affairs. This was to be achieved partly by maintaining peace on the peninsula, but also by retaining standing forces to defend states if attacked.

Despite the formation of this 'peaceful' league, Italy was not free from war over the next forty years. The framework of Italian politics in the second half of the fifteenth century was characterised by shifting alliances, small leagues of two or more states, and counter-leagues. It is this system of inter-state relations that historians have termed the Italian 'balance of power'. As a way of avoiding war and maintaining international relations, states repeatedly changed the composition of their alliances to take account of each other's military and economic strengths. In such circumstances, the role of the resident ambassador as the agent of this diplomatic structure was particularly important. Diplomats (especially resident diplomats) were central in the negotiation and formation of these leagues and counter-leagues.

This 'balance of power' in Italy was affected by two major factors after the formation of the Italian League. The first was economic and political rivalry between the

¹ For this whole section see Laven, *Renaissance Italy*, pp. 108-129; D. Hay and J.E. Law, *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance* (London and New York 1989), pp. 154-166

Italian states themselves, which led to these constantly shifting alliance structures. All five major Italian states had the potential to destabilise the fragile balance of power. The papacy's increasing spiritual power following the years of schism and its expansion of temporal control in central Italy constituted a real threat to Italian equilibrium. Milanese politics were complicated by French claims to its throne throughout this period. Naples was a persistent focus of dynastic uncertainty in these years. When the King of Naples and Aragon, Alfonso I, died in 1458, he was succeeded in Naples by his illegitimate son, Ferrante, while his Aragonese dominions went to his legitimate son John. Furthermore, Neapolitan economic and territorial growth meant that it was regarded with mistrust; its aspirations for Genoa in these years were a matter of concern for both Florence and Milan. In addition, Venetian expansionist policy in these years alienated almost every power on the peninsula. It, however, felt itself and its possessions threatened by Turkish incursions into its territory and by Milanese aggression following Venetian seizure of Milanese lands earlier in the century (Venice took Brescia and Bergamo in 1426/7). Finally, Florence was particularly apprehensive of the extension of papal power; it also feared the economic expansion of Venice.²

The second factor concerning the Italian 'balance of power' was the persistent threat of foreign intervention, particularly from the French and the Ottoman Turks. France had a long-standing interest in Italian politics. The marriage of Valentina Visconti to Louis I of Orleans in 1389 had given the French a claim to Milan and made Louis XII a descendent of Giangaleazzo Maria Visconti. Also the Angevins persisted throughout the second half of the fifteenth century in their claim to Naples. Furthermore, they frequently turned their attentions towards Genoa, as a result of Charles VI's rule there from 1396 to 1409.

² R. Fubini, 'The Italian League and the policy of the balance of power at the accession of Lorenzo de' Medici', in J. Kirshner (ed.), *The Origins of the State in Italy 1300-1600* (Chicago 1996), pp. 166-99

The other major threat to Italian security were the Ottoman Turks. After their conquest of Constantinople in 1453, they continued their advance through the Balkans and occupied Albania. In the late 1460s and 1470s they raided Venetian territories in Friuli and in 1480 they took and sacked Otranto; they were finally expelled after a bitter siege by Neapolitan and Hungarian troops in 1481. Internal politics of the Ottomans thereafter weakened their position in the West. With the death of Mahomet II in 1481, the right of succession passed to his two sons, Bayezid II and Djem. The latter was defeated in the subsequent internal squabbles for power and fled to the West, where he was used as a bargaining counter until his death in 1495.

These instabilities in the Italian balance of power led to a series of crises between 1454 and 1494. The Romagna was fought over repeatedly and Genoa faced conflict with Naples in 1456-64. The Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478 involved not only Florentine factional animosity towards Lorenzo de' Medici, but also papal ambition. The War of Ferrara in 1482-84 began as a Venetian-Papal enterprise to dispossess the Este of Ferrara; Venice was keen to extend its control of the Po and the Pope needed Venetian naval aid against Ferrante of Naples. However, disproportionate Venetian successes in the war induced Sixtus IV to join Florence, Naples, Milan and Spain in the 'Most Holy League' against Venice.

By the last decades of the fifteenth century, the political situation on the peninsula and beyond was changing. Within Italy, the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (1492) and of Ferrante of Naples (1494) created a power vacuum, which the new successor to the Milanese duchy, Ludovico 'il Moro', was able to exploit. Beyond Italian borders, while internal politics distracted the Turks' attention from Italian affairs, the relative stability of France following the union of Burgundy (1477) and Brittany (1488) with the French crown encouraged Charles VIII to follow his aspirations in Italy. In 1494 he invaded, making his way down through Rome and taking Naples in February 1495.

The Italian League

The formation of the Italian league has been variously regarded by historians. For some, the period after Lodi was something of a 'golden age' when Italy was free from foreign intervention.³ These historians argue that the five major Italian states, Naples, Rome, Venice, Milan and Florence, led by forward thinking politicians, joined together in a common alliance with a high ideal- to maintain peace in the peninsula.

This positive view of the Italian League has been challenged by those who emphasise the political tensions of the period, rather than a collective aspiration for peace.⁴ For G. Pillinini in *Il Sistema degli Stati Italiani 1454-1494* the league was an inadequate structure, and was not the origin of the Italian balance of power.⁵ By subscribing to the league, he has argued, Italian states admitted that they were in a precarious position and that their normal system of inter-state relations was ineffective.⁶ He has suggested that Italian politicians were self-serving pragmatists; encouraging foreign intervention was not seen as an evil but as a possible way of serving one's interests.⁷ If the league succeeded at all, Pillinini has said, it was not due to positive motivation, to the actions of the Italian states, or to a new spirit of co-operation, but rather for the negative and pragmatic reason that Italian states were continually trying to limit and control each others' expansion.⁸

Michael Mallett has also subscribed to this less positive view of the second half of the fifteenth century. He has suggested that while there was a shift in the fifteenth century to the concept of an Italian balance of power, it was not established as a result of any

³ Mattingly tends towards this view in his *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p.76 and 78-79; see also E.W. Nelson, 'The Origins of the Modern Balance of Power Politics', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 1 (1943), pp. 124-42; R. Cessi, 'La lega italica e la sua funzione storica nella seconda metà del secolo XV', *Atti del Regio Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, vol. 102 (1942-43), pp. 99-176

⁴ See for example E. Pontieri, *L'Equilibrio e la Crisi Politica Italiana nella Seconda Metà del Secolo XV* (Napoli 1946)

⁵ G. Pillinini, *Sistema degli Stati Italiani (1454-1494)* (Venice 1970) p. 9

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 11

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 12

positive political ideals of co-operation or alliance. Rather, it was the result of a 'stalemate'; Italian states, in economic decline, were forced to accept the fact that wars would no longer be easily fought and won.⁹ The situation in the second half of the century required intense diplomatic activity, as governments needed as much information as possible on matters such as their rivals' economic position or their state of military preparedness. While Mallett has highlighted the problems in seeing the period after Lodi as a homogeneous whole, he suggests that relations between states in this period remained remarkably constant.¹⁰

It is in this context that we must view the changing nature of Venetian diplomacy in the second half of the fifteenth century. The development of permanent diplomacy is inseparable from the political events of this era. The link between the league and Italian equilibrium, the motivation within Italy for setting up the league, and the impact of foreign involvement in the Italian peninsula must shape our understanding of the ideological and practical reasons for governments to send resident and special ambassadors. The rivalries between Italian states in this period manifested themselves in the series of leagues and counter leagues which dominate this period of Italian history. This process of constantly mutable alliance structures made the position of the *resident* ambassadors pre-eminently important. They were the chief agents in the structure of this 'new' international diplomacy.

PART B: CHANGE 1454-1494

For Venice, the events of the Peace of Lodi and after did not immediately lead to the development of residency or permanence in diplomacy. In this second part of the chapter, I argue that there is no evidence to show that residency or permanence was the

⁸ *ibid.*, p.13

⁹ Mallett, 'Diplomacy and War', p. 268

norm in Venetian diplomatic relations, even towards the end of the fifteenth century. However, I also suggest that the appeal of sending resident, and even permanent, missions was increasing, particularly to those states with whom Venice was allied on a longer-term basis. As I have argued throughout the thesis, the complexity of Venetian diplomacy in this transitional period defies generalisation; definition of a 'norm' eludes us in this period.

The experiences of other Italian states, however, was different; Milan, in particular, appears to have developed permanent diplomatic institutions considerably earlier than Venice. There were a number of reasons why Venetian diplomatic innovation lagged behind that of her neighbours. The most significant, I would argue, is that the personnel who were sent on Venetian missions were not suited to serving on resident missions; it was the political structure of Venice itself which meant that residency did not quickly develop in this period. In this second part of the chapter, then, I want to begin by investigating the development of permanent diplomacy in the rest of Italy as a basis of comparison with Venice. I then consider the evidence we have for the development of resident diplomacy in Venetian external relations and identify some of the problems with the source material. I conclude by providing some suggestions to explain developments in diplomatic practice in this period.

Change in Italy

The development of permanent diplomacy in Italy was gradual and Italian states responded to the new trends in different ways. In this part of the chapter, I am going to begin by looking at the Milanese permanent embassy to France in the 1460s, as a basis of comparison for Venetian permanent embassies. I then move on to consider more

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 269

specifically the sort of personnel appointed by other Italian states (including Florence, Siena and Milan) and the nature of their diplomatic office-holding.

Milan, Florence, Siena

Milan used resident agencies frequently in this period.¹¹ Indeed, Vincent Ilardi has argued that Milan led the field in their development; not only did it have resident ambassadors in all the major Italian centres in the fifteenth century, but the establishment of a Milanese permanent embassy in France in 1464 is thought to be the first of its type outside Italy. A network of resident embassies across Italy and Europe was initially set up by Francesco Sforza in order to administer the diplomacy of the years following the institution of the Italian League. Later Sforza dukes built on his achievements.¹²

According to Ilardi, the permanent Milanese embassy to Louis XI lasted from 1464-83. By considering this mission in some detail, we can understand more about how a permanent embassy might function. The background to the mission was the critical entente between Milan and Louis XI; in 1463 Francesco Sforza secured an alliance with Louis which essentially guaranteed Milanese territory against French dynastic claims. Sforza, fearing the influence of the Angevin faction at the French court, saw the advantage of a resident embassy, which could continually maintain the important relationship between the French and Milanese governments.¹³

There are three principal aspects of this embassy that are important to note. First, Milanese resident ambassadors were sent to the French court more or less continually for twenty years, the first being Pietro Panigarola who arrived in 1464 and who became very intimate with the French king. Each ambassador usually remained at the French court until

¹¹ See Cerioni, *La Diplomazia Sforzesca*, pp. 89-115- this lists every Milanese ambassador sent abroad in the second half of the fifteenth century by destination and date.

¹² Ilardi, 'The first permanent embassy', p. 3

¹³ *ibid.*, pp. 3-4

the arrival of the next resident so as to brief him and there was clearly an expectation that the mission would be filled permanently. Second, there were some occasions when the embassy was vacant; such as between 1475 and 1476, after the residency of Cristoforo da Bollate, and again from June 1477 for seventeen months. On these occasions, 'friends' of Milan (such as the representatives of the Medici Bank) were asked to keep an eye on Milanese interests. Special envoys were also sent to France from Milan in these periods of vacancy.¹⁴

The third point concerns the personnel who manned the embassy to France. Ilardi has noted that few of the diplomats sent were noble; indeed only two nobles served as resident ambassadors in this period. In addition, there was a group of men at the Milanese court who were regarded as especially qualified to deal with French affairs. They were repeatedly sent as special envoys to France (especially when the resident embassy was vacant) and when in Milan were sometimes called upon when French matters were being discussed. In other words, Ilardi has noted the development of *specialisation* among some of those at the Milanese court. The Milanese chancery even maintained a separate file for documents pertaining to French interests.¹⁵

This final point is an important one; the experiences of Venetian diplomatic personnel were very different to the Milanese. As I have already suggested, the political system in Venice strongly influenced the type of men appointed as ambassadors and hence the practice of diplomacy. We would therefore expect to find similarities between the diplomats appointed by Venice and those employed by other republican states. Florence and Siena, for instance, were both republics and their noble classes faced some of the same sort of political pressures and responsibilities as their Venetian counterparts.

Of the two, Florence might seem to compare most closely to the Venetian model. Like Venice, Florence was one of the major players in Italian politics; Siena, as a more

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 7-17

minor state, faced different pressures in its foreign policy. I want to begin then with a case study of a Florentine ambassador, Tommaso Soderini.¹⁶ Soderini's first diplomatic mission was to Venice in 1463. This was swiftly followed a year later by a prestigious embassy to honour the accession of the new Pope, Paul II. Soderini stayed in Rome until 1465. On his return to Florence he took up the post of captain of Pisa. Between 1467 and 1468, he occupied a large number of high offices; he was made, for example, one of the *Otto di Guardia*, and later one of the standardbearers of justice. Soon after this he was sent as ambassador to Venice again and on his return became Piero de' Medici's principal confidante and adviser. In 1471 and 1474 he was appointed ambassador to Milan, and in 1474 he was sent back to Venice again. Between 1476-78 he was ambassador in Milan, and on his return to Florence was made one of the *Dieci di Balìa*. In 1478 he was again appointed ambassador to Venice.

Soderini's career then, had some similarities with the careers of the Venetian patrician ambassadors who make up my core group. Like his Venetian counterparts, he was appointed to many diplomatic posts, but also held a number of prominent offices in Florence itself. Like men such as Bembo and Bernardo Giustiniani, he was politically important in Florence itself and certainly cannot be described as a 'career' diplomat.¹⁷

Of course, like the Venetian ambassadors, the experiences of Florentine diplomats varied considerably. One way in which Florentine and Venetian diplomacy were quite different resulted from the participation of the Medici in Florentine government, and especially the role of Lorenzo de' Medici. Lorenzo was famously dubbed by Guiccardini the 'architect' of the balance of power in Italy.¹⁸ While Riccardo Fubini has added some

¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 16-17

¹⁶ For this whole section see Clarke, *The Soderini and the Medici*, esp. pp. 46-49, 69-76, 152-160

¹⁷ For the ecclesiastical-diplomatic career of another Florentine ambassador see K.J.P. Lowe, Francesco Soderini (1453-1524), Florentine patrician and cardinal (PhD thesis, Warburg Institute, 1985), pp. 39-44

¹⁸ Ilardi argues that Francesco Sforza was the single most important statesman in these years, not Cosimo de' Medici or Lorenzo, see V. Ilardi, *Studies in Renaissance Diplomatic History* (London 1986), p.viii

weight to this argument,¹⁹ the Venetianist Pillinini has argued that Guicciardini's assertion is false, and that the historian should look to the broader context of Europe if they wish to see how Italian equilibrium developed, not to merely the exploits of one man.²⁰

Lorenzo's role in diplomacy (about which we now know far more thanks to the publication of his letters) was significant. Michael Mallett has shown how Lorenzo, through his connection with the bank and as the head of an oligarchy, had contact with diplomatic envoys in Florence, who would often pass him information they had received before presenting it to the official governmental body.²¹ Lorenzo was a listening post, someone with whom ideas could be discussed, papers passed and advice sought.²² Often Lorenzo was able to insert papers passed to him into the decision-making process at the best moment.²³ Even so, his role, we are told, should not be exaggerated; his position in Florence was largely dependent on his contact with ambassadors; after 1480, with the institution of the *Otto di Pratica*, Lorenzo found himself withdrawing temporarily from the forefront of affairs.²⁴

Niccolai Rubinstein has emphasised the duality of Lorenzo's diplomacy, its personal and private nature versus its public face. He argues that for Lorenzo, policies of state and his own personal interest were profoundly inter-linked.²⁵ Even after Lorenzo was elected to the *Dieci* in 1479, he maintained his private diplomacy. This led to a type of 'double diplomacy'; the *Dieci* dealt with day-to-day matters while Lorenzo concentrated on long term issues.²⁶ Melissa Bullard has suggested that the ambassadors active during Lorenzo's time formed a sort of workshop. Men such as Pierfilippo Pandolfini, Bernardo

¹⁹ Fubini, 'The Italian League', p. 198; note that Fubini's recent writing is very much informed by the publication of the letters of Lorenzo de' Medici, some of which he has edited.

²⁰ Pillinini, *Sistema degli Stati Italiani*, pp. 16-18

²¹ Mallett, *Diplomacy and War*, p. 283

²² Mallett, 'Ambassadors and their audiences', p. 241

²³ Mallett, *Diplomacy and War*, p. 283

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 284; see also R. Fubini, *Italia Quattrocentesca: Politica e Diplomazia nell'età di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Milano 1994), p. 21

²⁵ N. Rubinstein, 'Lorenzo de' Medici: the formation of his statecraft', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 63 (1977), pp. 84-85

Rucellai and Piero Alamanni knew each other well and were some of Lorenzo's closest advisers and most trusted confidants; most also served as diplomats repeatedly throughout their careers. When in Florence, they sat on the *Otto di Pratica*.²⁷ Bullard has also argued that Lorenzo's diplomatic policy was profoundly affected by the knowledge that financially and militarily, Florence was weaker than Milan and Naples and perhaps even Venice. As a result, rather than forming policy, they tended to react to the actions of other states.²⁸

The Sienese example is in some ways quite similar to the Florentine model.²⁹ Christine Shaw has shown that the practice of Sienese diplomacy was firmly linked to its political status in Italy; like Bullard's Florence, its foreign policy was reactive and directed towards avoiding involvement in Italian conflicts. The ambassadors that Siena employed in the late fifteenth century (fifty seven in the 1480s and 1490s) were rarely residents and were almost always Sienese by birth.³⁰ There is no evidence of 'career diplomats' in Siena during these years. The type of men who were appointed as diplomats in these two decades were varied. A proportion were members of the Sienese *Balia*, but most were not major players in Sienese politics (although there were exceptions, such as Antonio Bichi). Dominant political figures in Siena, such as Pandolfo Petrucci and Cristoforo Gionta, never served on diplomatic embassies.

As one might expect, Florence and Rome were popular destinations for Sienese ambassadors; thirty-eight of the Sienese ambassadors in these years served at least once in

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 90

²⁷ M. Bullard, 'Lorenzo and patterns of diplomatic discourse in the late fifteenth century', in M. Mallett and N. Mann (eds.), *Lorenzo the Magnificent. Culture and politics* (London 1996), p. 273

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 267; for the importance of Medicean patronage for Florentine diplomats see M. Ganz, 'Ambition and accomodation in Medicean Florence: Angolo and Donato Acciaiuoli', *Stanford Italian Review*, vol. 4 (1984), pp. 41-54

²⁹ These next two paragraphs are based upon an unpublished paper given by Christine Shaw entitled 'Sienese ambassadors', given at the University of Warwick Symposium, 'The Formation of Ambassadorial Elites in the Renaissance', 30 May 1997. I am extremely grateful to Christine Shaw for allowing me to cite this paper.

³⁰ Christine Shaw has identified fifty-seven men who served on at least one diplomatic mission for Siena during the years 1480 to 1499. This number includes ambassadors and envoys. Just one individual (Antonio da Venafro) was not Sienese. In contrast, Milanese ambassadors were often foreign by birth. Marco Trotti, for instance was a 'cittadino alessandrino', but served as Milanese

Rome and sixteen in Florence. Milan became an important destination for Sienese ambassadors only after the mid-1490s when Ludovico Sforza took over the protection of the Sienese regime. Much of the Sienese ambassadors business in Rome was to deal with exiles, some of whom had sought refuge there. While sending ambassadors there, Siena also made use of Sienese citizens in Rome as agents, such as the cleric Sinolfo da Castel Ottieri, who was in the service of Sixtus IV, and bankers such as the brothers Stefano and Francesco Ghinucci.

There was, therefore, great variety in the men who were appointed as ambassadors by Italian states. One of the most significant trends was towards what we might call 'career diplomats'. These were men who were employed repeatedly as ambassadors throughout their careers, rarely holding any other type of post at home. They were the nearest we have to a 'professional bureaucracy' in this period, although differed in many ways from modern counterparts. This type of ambassador was also increasingly being used by other Italian states. If we consider Zaccaria Saggi, for example, we see that he was the ambassador for Mantua in Milan more or less continually throughout the 1470s and 1480s. Another example is the Ferrarese Giacomo Trotti, who served in Milan almost without interruption in the 1480s and 1490s.³¹ Leonardo Botta was the Milanese ambassador in Venice sporadically from 1470 until 1480,³² while Taddeo Vimercati was ambassador in Venice from 1489-95.³³

The differences in the diplomatic practices of Venice, Florence, Milan and Siena show that distinctions cannot merely be drawn between 'princely' and 'republican' states—other factors must also be taken into account. There were undoubtedly similarities between Florentine and Venetian diplomacy, particularly in terms of the tendency to employ leading

ambassador in France and Florence. He received Milanese citizenship in 1479 (Cerioni, *La diplomazia Sforzesca*, pp. 247-48).

³¹ See the forthcoming doctoral thesis by Paul Dover, Yale University.

³² See his profile in Cerioni, *La diplomazia Sforzesca*, pp. 145-46

politicians as ambassadors which did not allow for the development of the 'career' diplomats. Yet the diplomacy of the 'republics' of Siena, Florence and Venice was also influenced by 'local' or state concerns and priorities. The resources and objectives of Siena meant that the resident ambassador was not a necessary or affordable option in the fifteenth century. For Florence, diplomatic practice and the types men appointed as ambassadors was affected by the unique relationship of the republic with the Medici family, especially Lorenzo de' Medici. While we can distinguish between the diplomacy of republican and princely states, we must also allow that there were important differences among the diplomatic practices of the republics; differences caused by the individuality of the political and social structures of these states.

Venice

In this section, I want to consider how the development of Venetian representation in this period compares with that of other Italian states which was described above. I begin by looking at how Venice continued to use special missions throughout the fifteenth century. I then discuss the developments occurring in the diplomatic institutions of the Venetian state. The remaining part of this section is dedicated to ascertaining how far Venice used resident agents in the second half of the fifteenth century. I suggest that there are serious problems in using the terms 'resident' and 'special' to describe Venetian representation in this period; not only were the distinctions between the two sometimes difficult to identify, but I would argue that the informal use of longer-term missions preceded the use of missions defined clearly as 'resident'. Therefore, I do note those missions which we know were resident (because they were referred to as such) but

³³ *ibid.*, p. 251; for another useful biography of an ambassador in the service of Milan, see P. Sverzellati, 'Per la biografia di Nicodemo Tranchellini da Pontremoli, ambasciatore sforzesco', *Aevum* (1998), pp. 485-527

concentrate more upon patterns in Venetian diplomatic practice which suggest that longer-term missions were becoming increasingly attractive to the Republic.

The types of missions on which Venetians were sent in the second half of the fifteenth century varied considerably in purpose and style. We might remind ourselves at this point of some definitions. A resident, as opposed to a special mission, was one where a fully accredited ambassador was sent abroad to report back information of a general nature about the state to which he had been sent. Among other things, he was sent to maintain rather than create diplomatic relations. The distinction between a resident and permanent embassy was continuity; a permanent embassy was one which was *expected* to be filled all the time (although it might occasionally be left vacant), whereas a resident embassy could finish at any time.³⁴

Special missions were quite distinct from resident or permanent missions. These were embassies sent with a specific purpose in mind; extraordinary emissaries were instructed to return to Venice once their business was completed. In other words, there was no continuity in diplomatic relations with this sort of foreign representation.³⁵ The range of tasks these special ambassadors might undertake varied considerably. Many were sent to negotiate treaties or attend peace conferences. In 1454, for example, Paolo Barbo and Nicolò da Canal were sent to attend the signing of the Peace of Lodi. They were instructed to try to strengthen the friendship between the allied members and to attend to problems with the treaty, such as the entrance of Genoa into the League and the war being fought by Siena.³⁶

³⁴ For this definition of permanent diplomacy see Ilardi, 'The first permanent embassy', p. 2; see also Kendall and Ilardi, *Dispatches with related documents of Milanese ambassadors*, vol. 1 p. vii

³⁵ Hale, 'International relations in the west: diplomacy and war', p. 266; see also C.H. Carter, 'The ambassadors of early modern Europe: patterns of diplomatic representation in early seventeenth century', in C. H. Carter (ed.) *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation-essays in honour of G. Mattingly* (London 1966), pp.273-77

³⁶ For details of this embassy see *DBI* vol. 17, p. 664

Another common task of the special ambassador was to convey Venetian condolences on the death of a monarch or head of state, and congratulations to his successor. This can be most commonly seen with the ambassadors sent *in obedientia* to a new Popes (see appendix two, which lists the destinations of Venetian ambassadors in this period).³⁷ Four individuals (often of high social rank) were usually sent to the inauguration of a new Pope, although in 1464, when a Venetian was elected to the papacy, Venice sent ten ambassadors as a mark of particular respect.

A third type of mission given to a special ambassador might be to attend the marriage celebrations of foreign royal or ducal families. For example, in 1490 Zaccaria Contarini and Francesco Capello (di Cristoforo), were sent to Ferrara for the marriage of Ludovico Moro and Beatrice D'Este.³⁸ It is worth noting, however, that special ambassadors sent for these sorts of reasons might also be expected to carry out political negotiations, unrelated to their 'official' purpose. In 1461, for instance, Bernardo Giustiniani and Paolo Barbo were sent to the court of Louis XI. Their official purpose was to convey sympathy for the death of the King's father; in practice, however, they were also to try to persuade the King to launch military action against the Turks.³⁹

The duration of these special missions varied. Ambassadors who were sent from Venice to honour the inauguration of a new Pope, for example, could travel down to Rome and back in a matter of weeks. Other special missions requiring the negotiation of a delicate treaty might take not only months but indeed years. Furthermore, a variety of personnel were sent on special missions. Those sent to honour the weddings and accessions of monarchs were often men of reputation and wealth, worthy of representing the republic, whose political status would confer prestige upon the state to which they were sent. Minor negotiations on the other hand might be left to lesser politicians or non-noble secretaries.

³⁷ See pp. 384-85

³⁸ For their commission see Collegio (commissioni), reg. 1482-1495, f. 149r-v

³⁹ *DBI* vol. 6, pp. 254-55

Unfortunately due to deficiencies in the source material, we cannot establish the exact number of special embassies sent by Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century. Many of the problems in attempting a statistical analysis are outlined below. All we can say, then, is that Venice made use of extraordinary legations on a frequent basis throughout the fifteenth century. There is little evidence to show a slackening in their employment even towards the end of the *Quattrocento*.

If a statistical analysis of special missions is impractical in this period, so too is one of the frequency of resident and permanent missions. The source material we have is somewhat limited, principally because of the lack of extant diplomatic dispatches. I want to begin then, by first considering the official sources of the Venetian government to see what they can tell us about resident and permanent missions. I will then move on to investigate non-Venetian sources which also cast light on the existence of the Venetian resident agent.

The most important government source available to us is *Senato Secreto*. As we have already noted, this was where most elections and commissions of ambassadors were noted in the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ The commissions and instructions of ambassadors are the obvious starting point to find evidence of residency. It is therefore significant that I have not been able to locate one commission or election between 1454 and 1494 which specifically referred to a 'resident' or 'ordinary' ambassador. Indeed, the first reference that I have found in these official government records to an 'ordinary' or resident ambassador was not until 1501, when Francesco Capello was elected resident ambassador to France; in the commission he was referred to as ambassador 'ordinarius'.⁴¹

However, I concur with Vincent Ilardi's viewpoint (outlined in chapter one) that developments in diplomatic institutions occurred gradually and were generally not institutionalised in the official records until they were quite mature.⁴² From this perspective, it is hardly surprising that we can find few direct references to residency or

⁴⁰ See my comments on elections and commission in chapter 1, pp. 76-80

permanence; these concepts took time to filter into the official records. I think that in the case of Venice, resident diplomacy probably developed long before it was recognised in the official government records. In fact, the archives of the Senate may go some way to indicating this. In some commissions in *Senato Secreta*, we are told that the diplomat was being sent to replace another Venetian ambassador and that his purpose was to procure information of a general nature and maintain relations with the foreign state. In other words, these missions fulfil every criteria of a resident mission I outlined above. The ambassadors were sent for no specific purpose, they were instructed to gather general information about the state to which they had been sent, and they were employed to maintain relations and keep Venice informed about foreign affairs. Even if these sources, then, do not refer directly to such embassies as 'resident', we can perhaps define them as such.

However, this approach is not without pitfalls. While contemporaries clearly understood the distinction between a special and resident embassy (as we shall see later) the difference in practice between the two was sometimes far from obvious. It was quite possible, for example, for ambassadors who were originally commissioned to carry out a special mission to remain in the state as residents for several years. Embassies could also overlap, which could confuse the separate duties of the ambassadors. A Venetian resident already present in a state might then be joined by one or more colleagues charged with special commissions. To categorise these men as either resident or permanent ambassadors in practical terms is obviously misleading.

The series *Senato Secreta*, however, does have a broader use in casting light on the development of residency in fifteenth-century Venice. Because it was the principal forum for diplomatic matters, the ebb and flow of discussion there highlights some important issues about trends in diplomatic practice. For most of the period I have investigated

⁴¹ SS, vol. 38, f. 173r

(1450-1500) there is a considerable amount of discussion of diplomatic matters in the Senate. In fact, there is usually at least one reference to an ambassador or diplomatic mission on every page of these registers. This great interest in diplomatic matters in the Senate continues until the late 1490s, when it is clear that references to ambassadors are dwindling.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, references to ambassadors and diplomatic missions become noticeably less frequent. If we look at volumes forty-one to forty-four of *Senato Secreto* (covering the years 1507-12), there are considerably fewer references to ambassadorial elections and commissions than there had been in the deliberations of, say, ten years before. There are two explanations for this. First, the decrease in elections and commissions may show that the responsibility for diplomatic business was shifting in the first decade of the sixteenth century away from the Senate.⁴³ However, if we look at the content of the debates held in the Senate in this decade, we see that it is still preoccupied with diplomatic matters, even if it is not recording as many ambassadorial elections. The second possibility is that much of the responsibility for diplomatic business did remain with the Senate, even into the sixteenth century, but that the low number of elections and commissions it noted could reflect a change in the nature of diplomacy itself. It may be an indication of the development of residency, which required fewer ambassadors to administer the diplomatic system; fewer elections would therefore have been noted.

Another point to emphasise is that change in the second half of the fifteenth century was not merely confined to diplomatic personnel and diplomatic embassies, but was also occurring in government institutions. Part of Lorenzo de 'Medici's contribution to Florentine diplomacy was to provide it with continuity. Something similar to this was also happening in Venice towards the end of the century; permanence was developing in the

⁴² Ilardi, 'The first permanent embassy', p. 2

institutions dealing with diplomacy at the heart of the state. It was, as we know, a fundamental of Venetian politics that public office be rotated on a regular basis. This led to a certain lack of continuity in the personnel who sat in government and who met to discuss matters including foreign policy. This began to change in the later fifteenth century with the increasing importance of the *zonta* in the Council of Ten. *Zonte* were special commissions set up to discuss various matters, including diplomatic business, which met regularly with the Council of Ten. The significance of the *zonte* lay in their ability to provide permanence and continuity; unlike other councils, individuals were allowed to sit on these *zonte* more or less permanently. As a result, while the Council of Ten continued to discuss matters with a rotating membership, in the *zonta* matters of diplomacy could be discussed by more or less the same group of men on a permanent basis.⁴⁴

If we move away from official Venetian government records, the second source for identifying Venetian resident embassies is found in the reports of foreign ambassadors, and especially from those foreign ambassadors in Venice.⁴⁵ These letters were often packed full of unofficial information and gossip about Venetian patricians, and therefore provide a useful and informal commentary concerning the election and appointment of Venetians to various posts and offices. Most importantly for our purposes, these foreign ambassadors frequently described the appointments of Venetian ambassadors and often tracked their movements. These reports of foreign ambassadors indicate that the concept of a resident mission was understood by contemporaries; on a number of occasions these ambassadors refer to Venetians as '*residente*'.⁴⁶

⁴³ See chapter 3, when I discuss the extension in the power of the Ten and the *Collegio*, possibly at the expense of the Senate, pp. 77-80

⁴⁴ See Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 185-90, 212-13- note that Finlay argues that the use of *zonte* did not lead to a clique of men dominating government. On the contrary, they allowed political authority to be diffused across a large section of the governing circle (p. 190)

⁴⁵ The correspondence I have used is that of Milanese, Florentine, Ferrarese and Mantuan ambassadors, already cited in chapter 3, see p. 73, note 3 and 4.

⁴⁶ See figure 17 below, which indicates when Venetian ambassadors were referred to by foreign ambassadors as 'resident'.

A third way of identifying resident embassies is by looking at printed primary and secondary sources. Pietro Gradenigo's list of Venetian ambassadors and the list of ambassadors now located in the *Biblioteca Querini-Stampalia* tend to divide missions into special and resident.⁴⁷ Gradenigo provides, for example, a list headed *Ambasciatori ordinari a sommi pontefici*⁴⁸ and something similar for Milan and other Italian states. As we have already noted, however, these lists have proved to be unreliable and often inaccurate.⁴⁹ As a result, I have not used them when trying to identify Venetian residents; these works have only been cited when corroborated by another source. Much more useful for the 1470s onwards are the letters of Lorenzo de' Medici, which especially cast light on the ambassadors to Florence, resident and special. Unlike Gradenigo's list, these letters are very close to ambassadors' reports of the period. The *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* is also occasionally useful in noting resident missions, although often it is not clear why a particular mission was thought to be resident or permanent or which sources have been used to establish this. The *Dizionario* has been more useful in pinpointing the predecessors and successors of ambassadors.

One other potential way of investigating the development of the resident in Venice is by looking at prescriptive literature. Ermolao Barbaro's *De Officio Legati* is particularly significant. This was written around the time Barbaro was resident ambassador to Rome in 1490. According to Garrett Mattingly, this is the first work to set out the duties of the resident ambassador. This is clear, when Barbaro writes 'Since declarations of war, and treaties of peace and alliance are but affairs of a few days, I will speak of those ambassadors who are sent with simple, general credentials, to win or preserve the friendship of princes.' He is, in fact, the first writer to consider the institution of the resident agent.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Gradenigo and Stampalia

⁴⁸ Gradenigo f. 35r-38r- Gradenigo notes twenty resident ambassadors to Rome between 1454-94.

⁴⁹ See chapter 1, pp. 36-37

⁵⁰ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 94; *De Officio Legati*, pp. 159-67

Bearing these issues in mind, I believe that we can begin to get some idea of the extent to which Venetian diplomatic practice was moving towards longer-term representation. However, we must bear in mind several caveats. First, we must emphasise the limitations of the source material. It is problematical to assume from commissions that a certain embassy is 'resident' or 'permanent'; usually some secondary corroboration is needed to establish this definitely. The reports of foreign ambassadors must also be treated with some caution. Milan knew what a resident mission was and used them frequently; this attitude must have affected the way it perceived Venetian ambassadors.⁵¹ Second, and related to this first point, is that a statistical analysis of the use of permanent embassies by Venice is impossible; I have not been able to locate all (or even most) ambassadorial commissions, and comments by foreign ambassadors concerning Venetians are *ad hoc*. Furthermore, as I have already noted, I believe that rather than discuss the development of 'residency', it is more useful to look at Venetian patterns of long-term representation; 'residency' and 'permanence' was only introduced informally in this transitional period of the late *Quattrocento*.

While my argument in this chapter is primarily concerned with this latter point, I want to first identify those embassies which were clearly sent as resident missions in the second half of the fifteenth century. There are two ways I have definitely identified a 'resident' mission in the second half of the fifteenth century. The first is by looking at those missions which were directly referred to as 'resident'. The second is to look at those instances where Venetian ambassadors replaced residents, remaining in a state until they were substituted by another ambassador. It is of course possible that replacement ambassadors were sent to succeed ambassadors employed on special missions, but this seems unlikely unless the task was especially complex.

⁵¹ There are two possible interpretations for this. On one hand, it is possible that because Milanese ambassadors were commonly sent on resident missions, they used the term fairly indiscriminately to describe Venetian embassies, which perhaps were not what we might

In terms of the first way of looking at the development of residency, I have found just thirteen embassies referred to directly as ‘resident’ in any primary or secondary source (a tiny 3 percent of the number of missions sent in the second half of the fifteenth century) I have found another six ambassadors who were not directly referred to as ‘resident’ but who were known to either precede or succeed a resident ambassador (1.5 percent of the number of missions sent in this period). These are indicated by Figure seventeen below. It shows the differing importance of relations with various governments (a matter to which I return below) and indicates that residency (or at least the idea of residency) increased significantly after the 1470s. Both Rome and Milan seem to have received resident agents from the 1480s onwards.

Figure 17: Venetian resident ambassadors 1454-1494

Florence

1470-71	Antonio Priuli ⁵²
1475-76	Bernardo Bembo ⁵³
1477	Pietro Molin* ⁵⁴
1478-80	Bernardo Bembo ⁵⁵

France

1478-80	[Bertucio Gabriel] ⁵⁶
1480	Antonio Loredan* ⁵⁷

understand as resident. On the other hand, one could argue that they were understood very well what a resident mission was and therefore could easily identify them.

⁵² Lorenzo, *Lettere*, vol. 1, p. 232

⁵³ *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 85

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 143; replaced Bernardo Bembo

⁵⁵ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 368, 12/2/1479; Lorenzo, *Lettere*, vol. 44, pp. 200-201

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, cart. 368, 13/2/1479, in this letter, Leonardo Botta referred to the Venetian resident ambassador to France who was recalled in this year, presumably Bertucio Gabriel.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, cart. 370, 10/5/1480, Leonardo Botta reported that Antonio Loredan was to replace Bertucio Gabriel as ambassador in France.

Rome

1485	Bernardo Bembo? ⁵⁸
1485	Antonio Loredan ⁵⁹
1487-88	Sebastiano Badoer ⁶⁰
1488-99	Domenico Trevisan* ⁶¹
1490-91	Ermolao Barbaro* ⁶²
1491-92	Girolamo Donato ⁶³
1492-93	Andrea Capello ⁶⁴
1493-94	Paolo Pisani ⁶⁵

Milan

1489-90	Girolamo Donato* ⁶⁶
1490-91	Paolo Trevisan ⁶⁷
1491-92	Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo ⁶⁸
1492-93	Benedetto Trevisan ⁶⁹
1493-94	Giorgio Pisani* ⁷⁰

Naples

1470-71	Vettore Soranzo
1471-73	Zaccaria Barbaro ⁷¹

⁵⁸ ASMo, Carteggio Ambasciatori, Milano, b. 4, 2/8/1485; This letter from Giacomo Trotti noted that Bembo had been made resident, but does not specify to where- we know in this year that Bembo was ambassador *in obedientia* to Rome, and it is possible he stayed on as resident.

⁵⁹ DBI vol. 39, p. 780

⁶⁰ ASMo, Carteggio Ambasciatore, Venezia, b. 6, 25 Oct. 1487, letter from Nicolo Sadoletto

⁶¹ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, 16 March 1490; Giovanni Stephano Castiglione noted that Ermolao Barbaro has been appointed to replace Domenico Trevisan.

⁶² ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, Venezia, b. 1433, no. 139, 12 March 1491, Giorgio Brognolo noted that Girolamo Donato was elected as successor to Ermolao Barbaro.

⁶³ ASMi, Sforzesco, Roma, cart. 103, 13 May 1491

⁶⁴ ASFi, Signori, Dieci di Balìa, Otto di Practica, Legazione e Commisarie, Missive e Responsive, reg. 24, f. 16r-v

⁶⁵ DBI vol. 18, p. 739

⁶⁶ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 375, 16 March 90, This letter from Giovanni Stephano Castiglione stated that Paolo Trevisan was elected successor to Girolamo Donato

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, cart. 377, 18 July 1491

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, cart. 377, 19 July 1491, 17 Aug. 1491

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, cart. 379, 14 July 1492

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, cart. 381, 7 Nov. 1493, 21 Nov. 1493, This letter from Taddeo Vimercati stated that Giorgio Pisani was elected successor to Benedetto Trevisan.

⁷¹ Lorenzo, *Lettere*, vol. 1, pp. 347-48; Corazzol, *Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro*. Vettore Soranzo had been resident ambassador in Naples 1470-71, and remained in place until Zaccaria Barbaro

1492-93 Nicolò Michiel⁷²

* individuals not referred to directly as 'resident', but elected as a predecessor or successor to a resident ambassador.

However, figure seventeen shows only part of the story. I suggest that it emphasises the fact that there must have been a time lag between the development of residency and its codification in official sources; the tiny number of resident missions noted in figure seventeen does not reflect the reality of Venetian diplomacy, which was moving towards longer-term embassies in this period. Indeed, if we consider the changing face of Venetian diplomatic representation in key centres across the second half of the fifteenth century, I would argue that we can see the beginnings of 'residence', and perhaps even 'permanence' in diplomacy. This is illustrated in appendix 2, which shows the destinations of Venetian ambassadors between 1454 and 1494. From this we can see that more Venetian ambassadors were sent to Rome and Milan than anywhere else in this period.⁷³

In the case of Rome, we see that there was a Venetian ambassador present there almost every year between 1454 and 1494. This is *excluding* those ambassadors who were sent *in obedientia* to Rome on the accession of a new Pope. To talk of these missions to Rome as 'special' is clearly misleading; Venice was continually represented (with few gaps) in Rome throughout the second half of the *Quattrocento*. Although, only a fraction of these men were referred to directly as 'resident', we can clearly see a development in Venetian diplomacy; special missions were used (on the accession of a new Pope for instance) alongside these other longer-term missions. Certainly, many of the men dispatched on these embassies were sent to maintain general relations, rather than carry out a particular task or duty and leave the state once that task had been accomplished. These

arrived, staying a few days with Barbaro. The dispatches written from Naples 1 Nov. 1471 to 5 Nov. 1471 were from both ambassadors- Soranzo left 5 Nov. (pp. 29-35).

⁷² ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, cart. 379, 24 Feb. 1492, 25 Feb. 1492, 1 March 1492

⁷³ For Rome and Milan, see appendix 3, pp. 379-80, 382-85

embassies were not necessarily long-term if considered individually (few lasted more than two years) but they did ensure that a Venetian ambassador was present in Rome throughout the second half of the fifteenth century.

Venetian representation in Milan was not quite so frequent and regular. As we can see from appendix two, Venetian ambassadors were present there from 1454 to 1456, presumably to administer negotiations following the Peace of Lodi in 1454. There is then a gap for several years until 1464, when Girolamo Barbarigo was sent there as ambassador. Just one other Venetian was sent to Milan in the 1460s. The 1470s saw thirteen Venetian ambassadors in Milan, although their missions did not run consecutively. Many of the embassies ran concurrently and for several of the years in the 1470s, there was no Venetian present in Milan at all. In the 1480s, there were again thirteen Venetian ambassadors sent to Milan. All, bar one, were sent there after 1484. Indeed, in every year from 1484 until the end of the period (1494), there was at least one Venetian ambassador present in Milan. Venetian representation in Milan, then, while less frequent than that in Rome, was still significant. From the late 1480s, there was a Venetian ambassador present in Milan on almost a yearly basis.

With the case of Milan at least, not only are we seeing the beginnings of residency by the end of the period, but we are also seeing the beginnings of ‘permanence’; that is, we are seeing the development of embassies which were intended to be permanently filled. The case of the Venetian ambassadors there in the 1490s illustrates this. In July 1491, Bartolomeo Calco in a letter from Milan referred to Paolo Trevisan as ‘*residente presso noi*’.⁷⁴ A day later, Calco noted that Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo has been appointed to replace Trevisan.⁷⁵ A month later, on 17 August, the Milanese diplomat in Venice reported that he had heard that Pasqualigo had arrived in Milan.⁷⁶ A week later, he reported that

⁷⁴ ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia, *ibid.*, cart. 377, 18 July 1491

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, cart. 377, 19 July 1491

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, cart. 377, 17 Aug. 1491

Paolo Trevisan had arrived in Venice.⁷⁷ In other words, Paolo Trevisan almost certainly waited in Milan for the arrival of Pasqualigo in order to hand responsibility of the mission to him before returning home to Venice. In July 1492, Taddeo Vimercati (the Milanese ambassador in Venice) reported that Benedetto Trevisan had been appointed to succeed Pasqualigo. Interestingly, Taddeo Vimercati reported in October the same year that Benedetto Trevisan visited him, before departing for Milan.

If we compare the above example with Vincent Ilardi's description of the Milanese permanent embassy in France from the 1460s, we can see marked similarities. In both cases, diplomats stayed in their positions until the next ambassador arrived. We know that Paolo Trevisan and Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo's time in Milan crossed over for several days, presumably in order for Trevisan to brief Pasqualigo. Once Benedetto Trevisan was elected ambassador to Milan, he went to visit Taddeo Vimercati, the Milanese representative in Venice, which implies a least some interest, if not specialisation in Milanese affairs. The way that this mission differed from that which Ilardi described was in the personnel who were sent and their degree of specialisation, issues I will return to in the final section of the chapter.

Ambassadors did not represent Venice on such a regular basis in any other Italian or European state. Florence, for example, received a relatively small number of Venetian ambassadors in this period, resident or otherwise- perhaps only seven or eight between 1454 and 1494. However, of these a surprisingly high fraction (about half) were described as resident. It is possible that we know of this comparatively large number of resident ambassadors because we have such a useful source with regard to Venetian ambassadors in Florence in the letters of Lorenzo de' Medici. It is worth pondering that if there was such a useful source available for other states, the proportion of resident representatives we have

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, cart. 377, 25 Aug. 1491

noted would have been considerably higher. I return to the other reasons for the nature of Florentine-Venetian diplomatic relations below.

Beyond Italy, the majority of ambassadors were sent to carry out particular duties, especially to negotiate treaties or to attend marriage ceremonies. It was rare for Venice to maintain long-term representation with states beyond Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century, although it is possible that some of those ambassadors who were sent abroad on these (mainly honorary) embassies in this period may have been hoping that foreign governments would have invited them to stay on as more permanent agents. Indeed the only places to which we have references to Venetian 'residents' being sent were to the courts of Louis XI and the Emperor (see figure seventeen above).

This evidence, though not necessarily complete, shows that the nature of Venetian diplomacy in this transitional period of the *Quattrocento* was complex. Longer-term, resident missions were used by Venice, especially after the 1470s. Permanent institutions developed only very gradually and special missions were still used frequently. The Venetian example highlights the problems in defining missions as either 'resident' or 'special'; resident institutions were still evolving in this period and the difference between ordinary and extraordinary embassies was sometimes far from clear. Mattingly has argued that residency developed in the second half of the fifteenth century in Italy and that it was the norm by the end of the century.⁷⁸ Clearly, this does not apply to Venice; even by the end of the century no 'norm' had developed. Although Venice did embrace longer-term missions in this period, its diplomatic institutions were still evolving, and at a slower rate than other Italian states.

⁷⁸ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*; also see chapter one where I discuss this debate in more detail, esp. pp. 14-20

The factors affecting change

What, then, affected the development of Venetian resident and permanent diplomacy in the fifteenth century? Both short term causal factors and longer term social and governmental determinants are important. As to the former, the use of the resident ambassador was closely linked to the political events of the second half of the fifteenth century, and especially to the alliance structures after the Peace of Lodi. Longer-term factors, to which I will return later, include the type of personnel which Venice had at its disposal to send on diplomatic missions; these personnel were profoundly linked to the Venetian political system.

Alliance structures

One reason why residency tended to exist between Venice and only some other Italian states appears to be that resident diplomats were principally employed (at least at first) to administer the alliance systems in Italy. For Venice, as for other states, the large number of alliances and treaties of the second half of the fifteenth century does seem to explain at least in part why residency developed in this period. As we have seen, international relations in this period were characterised by shifting allegiances and counter alliances directed at maintaining a 'balance of power'. The 'administrators' of these alliance structures were ambassadors, and increasingly resident ambassadors. In fact, in periods of great tension in international affairs, and when the possibility of hostilities became close, the sending and receiving of ambassadors grew even more intense.⁷⁹

If we look at the pattern of Venetian diplomatic representation, especially in Italy (see appendix two), we see that Venice and Florence did not exchange ambassadors very

⁷⁹ Hale, 'International relations in the west: diplomacy and war', p. 268

frequently from 1454 until the mid 1470s. On the other hand, Venice did send ambassadors to Rome and Milan on a far more regular basis. The disparity in the number of ambassadors sent to these states may be due to the fact that Venice was allied to Rome and Milan (on and off) for relatively long periods in the *Quattrocento* and that ambassadors were appointed to administer their diplomatic agreements. Florence and Venice, on the other hand, were allied for shorter periods, which may account for the lack of Venetian ambassadors in Florence in the two decades after the Peace of Lodi. For example, between 1474-80 Florence was allied with Milan and Venice in the Triple Alliance. Before this period, however, there was a long period of Florentine, Milanese and Neapolitan entente which was revived after 1480.⁸⁰ If we look at appendix two, we see that virtually every Venetian mission to Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century took place between 1475-80 (not surprisingly, when the two states were allied).⁸¹

The alliance structures of the second half of the fifteenth century may also go some way to explaining the apparent tardiness of Venice in the development of resident and permanent institutions. Venice, after all, was allied with relatively few states in these decades. By comparison, Milan signed far more diplomatic treaties, and maintained more durable alliances than Venice. This might explain why Milan and Florence, which did form more consistent alliances in these periods, developed resident and then permanent institutions more speedily than Venice (who was more isolated and less frequently participated in the alliance systems of this period).

Diplomatic personnel

The second and more profound influence on the development of Venetian diplomatic institutions in this period lay in the types of personnel employed to serve as

⁸⁰ D. J. Hill, *A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe* (1921), pp.

Venetian ambassadors. We have seen that in Milan during the second half of the fifteenth century, there was a change in the types and expertise of the personnel who were sent on missions. Ilardi noted that there was a move towards specialisation; those Milanese ambassadors sent to the French court were beginning to focus their attention exclusively on French affairs. We have also noted the existence of what we might call 'career diplomats', men who were sent on one diplomatic mission after another for the majority of their careers.

Let us take these issues in turn. First, I can find little evidence of specialisation in Venetian diplomacy in the late-fifteenth century. Unlike their Milanese counterparts, Venetian secretaries were not specialists in diplomatic matters in the second half of the fifteenth century. Mary Neff has argued that secretaries, rather like the patrician ambassadors, were sent to a variety of destinations in the course of their lives. As a result, they rarely acquired specialised knowledge about a particular state. There were, however, some exceptions to this rule. Giovanni Pietro Stella, for example, was evidently regarded as something of an expert on German affairs and repeatedly visited the Holy Roman Empire during his secretarial career.⁸²

It is also true that Venice regarded some patrician ambassadors as experts on particular states. On some occasions, Venice did employ an ambassador with specialist knowledge of a foreign state if it would serve Venetian interests. We can illustrate this by looking at the example of Bernardo Bembo, and his relations with Florence, which were long-standing. In 1475 Bembo had been sent as Venetian ambassador to Florence at a time of relative harmony in relations between the two states. The embassy, therefore, had not required a high level of political and diplomatic negotiation and had given him the opportunity to cultivate relationships with humanists at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici. The burgeoning friendship between Bembo and Lorenzo had led to a close association

between the two families which was to last for many years; Bembo actively used his position as ambassador to acquire Medici loans for himself and his family and in when 1510 Guiliano de' Medici came to Venice, one of those who met him was Bernardo Bembo.⁸³

Bembo's expertise in Florentine affairs was called upon in the late 1470s. In 1478, Giovanni Emo had been sent as ambassador to Florence. His brief was to ensure that Florence would not be involved in any Italian War (which Venice was keen to avoid) while at the same time not offering the Florentines anything in return. Not surprisingly this position greatly disappointed Florence and Lorenzo de' Medici most of all. This ill-feeling evolved in Florentine and Milanese circles into a direct dislike of Emo. Realising the depth of Florentine feeling against Emo, the Venetian state tried to rescue the situation by removing him and replacing him with Bernardo Bembo.⁸⁴

On 9 June, the Senate informed Giovanni Lanfredini that they had made Bembo ambassador to Florence in place of Emo. Lanfredini assured the Venetian Senate that Bembo was particularly welcome in Florence.⁸⁵ It was precisely the close relationship between Lorenzo and Bembo, and the latter's popularity in Florentine circles, that led to his election to take over the critical mission to Florence in 1478, which was perceived to have been mismanaged by Emo. It was clearly hoped that the election of Bembo, a popular figure, would soothe the Florentines.⁸⁶ In other words, Venice used Bembo for this mission

⁸¹ See appendix 2, p. 378

⁸² Neff, 'Zaccaria de Freschi', p. 47

⁸³ For the significance of the humanist contacts which Bembo was able to form while on embassies to Florence, see chapter 5, pp. 162; particularly useful in determining the relationship between Bembo and the Medici are Cian, 'Per Bernardo Bembo. Le sue relazioni coi Medici', Cian, 'Per Bernardo Bembo. Le relazioni letterarie'; della Torre, 'La prima ambasceria di Bernardo Bembo a Firenze'; F. Pintor, 'Le due ambascerie di Bernardo Bembo a Firenze e le sue relazioni coi Medici', *Studi Letterari e Linguistici Dedicati a Pio Rajna* (Firenze 1911), pp. 785-813- this article reprints letters written by Bembo to the Medici; for details of Bembo's embassies to Florence see Gianetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, pp. 131-152.

⁸⁴ Lorenzo, *Lettere*, vol. 3, pp. 134-35, vol. 3, p. 70

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 339, 66, 70

⁸⁶ *DBI* vol. 8, pp. 103-09

because he was something of an expert in Florentine affairs and had formed such close associations with Lorenzo de' Medici.

Despite the utilisation of experts in times of crisis, the attitude of Venice with regard to using ambassadors with specialist knowledge was profoundly ambiguous. On one hand, knowing that a diplomat's actions could affect the success and failure of a mission, it wanted its ambassadors to behave with decorum, sensitivity and helpfulness towards the court that was receiving them. Obviously the use of an ambassador who was a personal friend of Lorenzo in 1478 diffused the tension of Emo's tenure-ship and enhanced the possibility that the mission would be successful.

On the other hand the state also wanted to avoid ambassadors forming close relationships with foreign governments. At the same time as encouraging its ambassadors to behave with decorum towards the host state, I think that Venice was preoccupied about its ambassadors becoming too involved in the state to which they had been sent. It did not wish to encourage close relationships between its ambassadors and foreign governments or foster specialisation which might increase the authority of the diplomat at the expense of the republic, or allow ambassadors to build up power bases abroad.⁸⁷ This belief was enshrined in legislation which prohibited ambassadors from accepting any gift, office, or benefice from a sovereign to whom they had been sent as ambassador.⁸⁸ To do so would seriously compromise the loyalties of the ambassador in question.

This fear that ambassadors might defy Venetian will was not wholly unjustifiable in this period, as the case of Ermolao Barbaro shows. In 1490 Ermolao Barbaro was sent as ambassador to Rome. A year later, Marco Barbo, the patriarch of Aquileia died. It was normal practice that the Pope should wait to hear from Venice before making a new appointment to this important benefice. Instead, however, the Pope appointed Barbaro. As we have already noted, it was a commonplace of Venetian law and custom that an

⁸⁷ Mallett, 'Diplomacy and war', p. 274

ambassador should not accept a gift or office offered by a sovereign to which they had been sent as orator, something Barbaro himself had acknowledged this in his *De Officio Legati*.⁸⁹ In defiance of this, however, Barbaro bowed to papal pressure and accepted the post of patriarch. There was an outcry in Venice, who had already decided on another candidate to replace Barbo. Both Ermolao's friend, Girolamo Donato, and his father, Zaccaria Barbaro, were ordered try to dissuade him in his course of action and to encourage him return to Venice, but failed. Ermolao died in Rome in 1493, having brought himself and his family into disgrace.⁹⁰

There were two reasons why Venice greeted the appointment of Ermolao Barbaro as patriarch with such horror. First, Venice believed it had a traditional right to nominate the Patriarch of Aquileia; this was a right which they felt strongly that they should maintain. They therefore believed that the Pope, in appointing Barbaro without Venetian support, and ignoring the Venetian candidate, was challenging over their long-held rights and privileges. The second issue was that the Pope did not just appoint an unapproved candidate but the Republic's very own ambassador. Even more unforgivable was the fact that the ambassador in question accepted the post in direct contravention of the law. Venice expected undivided loyalty from its ambassadors and it is not surprising that they felt that the loyalty of Barbaro was in question after 1491. From then, after all, he was a recipient of papal patronage.

Just as the Venetian example provides little evidence of specialisation, neither does it demonstrate clear evidence of career diplomats. As we saw in chapter 5, it was relatively common for individuals to serve on just one mission in their lifetime. Equally, there were a number of patricians in *Quattrocento* Venice who were appointed to five or more legations in the course of their lifetimes; a minority served on over ten embassies. Even those men who held a large number of diplomatic offices held many other non-diplomatic offices in

⁸⁸ *DBI* vol. 6, p. 97; Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors*, pp. 42-43

their lifetimes. As we have seen, Venetian diplomats tended to hold political offices within Venice, government posts on the *terraferma*, and military and naval positions of command. Not one of the individuals in my core group held a string of diplomatic offices and no other posts in his lifetime (and hence can be defined as a career diplomat). Those men who did serve on a large number of diplomatic posts were generally experienced politicians in Venice. The ambassadors of Venice in the fifteenth century were not members of a professional diplomatic bureaucracy. They were high-ranking, well educated patricians who played an important role in the political life of the republic.

If we turn to the length of time Venetian ambassadors were absent from the state, we see another distinction between Venetian and Milanese practice.⁹¹ The embassies on which the core group ambassadors served were generally short, rarely more than two years in length. Individuals were only occasionally out of Venice for more than three years in all. The few examples there are of embassies lasting longer than just several years are those which were sent to far-flung places, especially to the East. It was certainly not commonplace to be sent to an Italian state as ambassador for more than a couple of years.

I believe that these aspects of the Venetian ambassadors' experiences were profoundly linked to the system of government in Venice itself, and in particular Venetian republicanism.⁹² As already noted, the men who served as Venetian ambassadors had a fundamental role in the running of the republic; indeed the state could not function without the political service of these men. They were continually recalled from embassies and *terraferma* posts in order to occupy political offices in Venice. It was partly for this reason, then, that Venetian ambassadors could not serve for too many years abroad. They could not ever become 'career diplomats' as they were repeatedly required back in Venice to perform political duties there.

⁸⁹ For a discussion of this treatise, see chapter 3, esp. part A.

⁹⁰ See *DBI* vol. 6, p. 97, King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 204-205

⁹¹ For more details on length of missions, see chapter 2, p. 62-63.

⁹² see Mallett's discussion of this in his 'Ambassadors and their audiences', p. 234

Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the ambassadors themselves did not want to be out of the *cursus honorum* for too long a period. Long periods of office out of Venice must have affected one's prospects in political circles, despite the mechanisms the state had in place to mitigate the disadvantages of service overseas. Short embassies, therefore may well have been seen as beneficial by the individual serving as ambassador as it allowed him to return to Venice and stake his claim there politically.⁹³

I would also suggest that Venice specifically discouraged its ambassadors from being absent from the state for more than a few years. The reason for this is closely linked to the kind of men who became ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century. As we have seen, these men were highly experienced, intellectually, socially and politically. They were educated and were politically important in government. They were, then, in a stronger position to be able to impart advice and information to their host government than a more 'professional' ambassador, with less political experience. In Venetian eyes at least, the ambassadors were potentially formidable opponents. They were men with their own political opinions formed from their own experience in government. As such, there was always the possibility that these ambassadors might, by forming close relations with foreign monarchs or courts, compromise their loyalty to Venice.

This explains the reason for the brevity of Venetian missions. The government feared that long missions might encourage intimacy between its ambassador and the host state; an ambassador frequently returning home was easier to observe and even control. It also partly explains Venetian ambivalence towards specialisation. Venice did not want its ambassadors to form too close relationships with foreign states by sending them to the same state again and again. Furthermore, the short length of Venetian missions (compared with those of Milan ambassadors, who frequently sent their diplomats abroad for a decade

⁹³ This was also probably the case for Florence, see Lowe, Francesco Soderini, p. 39.

or more) meant that specialisation was virtually impossible; individuals never spent long enough in one particular state to build up intimate/in depth knowledge.

The fact that Venetian ambassadors were experienced politicians in Venice must have impacted upon the role that they were able to perform as diplomats. On one hand, the fact that they had considerable political experience might have made them useful advisers and negotiators to foreign governments. On the other hand, Venetian ambassadors were rarely given the opportunity to build up a level of intimacy with their host government due to the brevity of their missions and the fact that they were rarely sent to the same destination repeatedly in their careers. Venetian ambassadors cannot possibly have had the depth of knowledge about foreign courts as Pietro Panigarola had about France or Zaccaria Saggi had about Milan. This lack of intimacy and knowledge about foreign states may well have affected the success and failure of Venetian missions.⁹⁴

In considering this factor, however, we should bear in mind two issues. First, the lack of continuity of Venetian ambassadors must have in part been mitigated by the use of secretaries, who acted as the assistants of a succession of ambassadors sent to particular states. In this way, the secretary would have had the chance to make long-term contacts and develop some degree of closeness with the state in which he was residing. The benefits of his knowledge could then be passed on to the ambassador.⁹⁵ Second, the instructions given to Venetian ambassadors must have been somewhat different to those given to men like Saggi and Trotti. The latter were commissioned to maintain relations with foreign governments for long periods of time. As we have seen, Venetian ambassadors were more frequently employed to carry out comparatively short missions, usually with more specific targets in mind.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ For some of the problems associated with the frequent rotation of office, short length of missions etc. see Carter, 'The ambassadors of early modern Europe', pp.279-80.

⁹⁵ Neff, 'Zaccaria de Freschi', pp. 33-34

⁹⁶ I would like to thank Paul Dover for sharing his thoughts with me on this subject.

Clearly, the nature of Venetian ambassadors must have affected the development of residency and therefore the evolution of 'permanent institutions', of which resident missions were an instrument. These institutions included a move towards specialisation, and support from a diplomatic bureaucracy. Because Venetians were discouraged from staying abroad too long, it was hard to maintain resident missions, which by definition required the ambassador to live abroad for a period of time. Likewise, the ambivalence towards specialisation meant that this hallmark of 'modern' diplomacy did not evolve in fifteenth century Venice, as it did in Milan. Finally, the frequent rotation of diplomatic and political office among the same group of men discouraged the institution of a system which required frequent and lengthy service abroad, as well as more intimate knowledge of foreign courts.

Venetian political traditions did not predispose the state towards the development of permanence. Resident embassies were used in the second half of the fifteenth century, but permanent institutions did not develop until the sixteenth century. The republicanism of Venice led to a system of diplomacy which preferred short term *ad hoc* missions to longer term resident or permanent embassies. Neither was the Venetian state inclined towards the 'career diplomat' in the second half of the *Quattrocento*. The large number of offices in Venice and the *terraferma* which needed to be filled and the rotation of offices both meant that Venetian missions were, by necessity, comparatively short in duration. The ambassadors of the second half of the fifteenth century were politicians, naval and military leaders and doges, 'Being an ambassador' was certainly not the only 'career' of any of the men in the core group.⁹⁷ Hence, at every stage we come back to the fact that Venetian diplomacy, and the changes it underwent in the fifteenth century, were profoundly affected by the types of men who were the Venetian ambassadors; it was the individuals in the core group who formed the character of Venetian diplomatic practice in this period.

⁹⁷ See chapter five, part C for details about the non-diplomatic careers of Venetian ambassadors.

CONCLUSION

Diplomatic elites?

The men whom Venice chose to employ as ambassadors in the second half of the fifteenth century were drawn from a number of 'elite' groups in Venice. 'Being an ambassador' was not the only way that they defined themselves or can be defined, although for some this was their major field of activity. A number of the men in the core group were drawn from intellectual circles, for instance. Others were political leaders in Venice holding the highest posts in government. A few were naval and military captains, vital in some of the most important battles of the latter half of the *Quattrocento*. In other words, to call these men a 'diplomatic elite' is perhaps misleading; it infers homogeneity to a group which was diverse in its interests and skills. The search for a 'diplomatic elite' however, is not futile if we consider how we might define such a term. If we are trying to locate those who rose to the highest level in their particular field of activity (in this case diplomacy), we can define quite a small group. These men (about one tenth of the core group) dominated diplomatic offices between 1454 and 1494, holding a large number of diplomatic posts between them, disproportionate to their size.

Let us consider these men for a moment. Here I am talking about those who were numerically (and to some extent, qualitatively) important; the few men who served on more than ten diplomatic offices in their lifetimes. Although these men were a diplomatic elite in the sense that they were able to dominate diplomatic office, they could also be defined as 'elites' from a number of other perspectives. Most were political leaders: a number were Procurators of San Marco and *savi dei consiglio*, although none held the post of doge. The majority were humanist-trained, although some were quite exceptional intellectually, Ludovico Foscarini for instance, or Bernardo Giustiniani. This group was also an elite in the sense they were awarded political and diplomatic office at an unusually young age;

most were in their late twenties and thirties when they commenced diplomatic service. Their periods of diplomatic activity were long, spanning two or three decades in some cases. They were drawn from leading families and clans in Venice: linked to this, most had significant personal and familial wealth.

The question is whether these attributes (wealth, political experience, prestigious family) made a person more attractive as a potential ambassador, or whether diplomatic service enhanced one's personal prestige at home (depending on the success of the mission) and hence led to political advancement. This brings us back to the thorny issue of how ambassadors came to be appointed. We know a lot about the characteristics of the men who served Venice as ambassadors, but unfortunately little about the processes which brought them to serve as diplomats. As we have seen, candidates were nominated for diplomatic office and these nominations were then voted upon. Although we know frustratingly little about this process, we can hypothesise that diplomatic elections (like any other) were about far more than simply 'choosing the best person for the job'. As we have seen, whether an individual would want to be elected to a diplomatic post was dependent on a number of factors; the potential cost of the embassy and the individual's personal economic resources, the difficulty of the task to be undertaken, the personal circumstances of the individual to be elected. Some ambassadorial posts might, therefore, be sought after; others would be desperately avoided. In electing their colleagues to these posts, Venetian patricians must have taken these factors in to account. Far more than trying to find the most qualified or suitable man for the task, their decision to elect an individual would be based upon favours that they called in, debts they needed to pay off, factionalism and back-biting.

The men in the core group who served as Venetian ambassadors do tend to read as a 'roll-call' of the most important men in the state in this period, those who repeatedly held political office. Having said that, there are a number of individuals who do not appear as

ambassadors between 1454 and 1494 (and hence are not in the core group) who we might expect to be there. There are two explanations for their absence. First, there were some men who did indeed hold diplomatic posts but outside the years 1454 and 1494, usually because they were comparatively old before they held their first diplomatic post. A notable example of this was Giorgio Corner. Born in 1454, and the sister of Caterina, Queen of Cyprus (and son of Marco, who does appear in our core group), Giorgio held a number of significant posts in the latter part of the century and beginning of the next. He was *savio di terraferma* in the 1490s, and *savio di consiglio* repeatedly in the early 1500s. It was not until he was sixty-seven years old that he held a diplomatic post: he was sent as ambassador to Milan and Trent in 1521. He died four years later.¹

The second explanation for the absence of certain individuals from the core group is simply that these men never held diplomatic offices in their careers. Some big players in Venetian politics never served as ambassadors at all. Domenico Morosini, for instance (the cousin of the ambassador Marcantonio), was born in 1417. A politician with humanist interests, his career lasted several decades. He held the posts of ducal elector, *savio di terraferma*, *savio di consiglio* and sat repeatedly on the Council of Ten. He was made Procurator of San Marco in 1492. There is no record that he ever held a diplomatic post.² Vinciguerra Dandolo di Marco, who served repeatedly in posts on the *terraferma*, was *podestà* and captain of Belluno in 1477-79, *visdomino* of Ferrara in 1488 and captain of Brescia in 1491. He also held a number of political posts in Venice (including *savio di terraferma*, *avogador di comun*) but never a diplomatic post to my knowledge.³

The relationship between diplomatic and political office, then, was a complex one: ambassadors were indeed drawn from Venetian political elites, but not all political leaders served time as diplomats. Clearly diplomatic service was not essential in pursuing a political career in Venice. A successful mission, carrying responsibility, might considerably

¹ For his career see *DBI*, vol. 29, pp. 212-19

enhance one's standing at home and lead to political advancement. However, because of Venetian preoccupation with the behaviour and loyalty of its diplomats, a less successful embassy could lead to public humiliation and even punishment in the form of exile or deprivation of political posts. A wider issue is the question of the ambassadors' absence from Venice; clearly, repeated absences could not help one build up power-bases at home and maintain contacts, despite the attempts of Venice to embrace ambassadors back in to the political system after service abroad. If we look at the experiences of the men in the core group, it seems clear that diplomatic service did not deny individuals the chance to pursue political careers; most of the numerically successful diplomats held a large number of prestigious political posts. However, diplomatic service may have prevented these individuals from rising to the highest level of political activity; those who were elected doges in the second half of the fifteenth century, for instance, spent very little time out of Venice on ambassadorial duties.

Diplomatic representation

The diplomatic system in which these ambassadors operated was the product of two principal factors. First, the political situation in the second half of the fifteenth century created an environment which encouraged the use of longer-term embassies, residing abroad. The period of mutable alliance structures after the Peace of Lodi emphasised the need for more consistent representation abroad in order to maintain the Italian 'balance of power'. Yet the way that the Italian states responded to these trends in diplomatic practice was affected by a second factor; the cultural and political values of each. Even the experiences of those states with similar political structures, such as Florence and Venice, had very different diplomatic systems. Milan quickly developed resident embassies and

² For his career see King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 409-10

³ For his career see *DBI*, vol. 32, pp. 516-18

began to use specialist ambassadors who stayed abroad for long periods of time by the end of the fifteenth century. The relative speed of Milan in embracing these trends was due to a number of factors. For example, less involvement of the nobility in government made it possible for them to be absent from the state for long periods of time (sometimes a decade or more) in a way that Venetians could not. The Milanese diplomatic system (if we can speak of such a thing) was also a product of the work of Francesco Sforza, who had seen the benefits of employing ambassadors as resident abroad. Furthermore, Milanese alliance systems in this period fostered the employment of permanent ambassadors; residents were employed to maintain relations with Milanese allies.

The differences between the experiences of Venice and Milan highlight that there were a number of factors which might influence the response of Italian states to resident and permanent diplomatic practice. In Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century, ambassadors and politicians were drawn from the same, small group of men. Those appointed as diplomats were expected to also perform political functions at home, as well as serve in the army, the navy and on the *terraferma*. As a result, long absences from Venice were not practical (and certainly not desirable for an ambitious patrician). This explains why Venice did not develop specialists on particular countries; Venetians were rarely abroad for long enough to develop particular knowledge of a state.

Added to this was the general distrust in Venice of allowing nobles to be absent from the state for long periods. Those men appointed as Venetian ambassadors were sometimes intellectuals, and usually political leaders, with considerable experience. There was a fear that if permitted, these patricians might use their political knowledge to build up power bases abroad, possibly to the detriment of the state. Certainly such behaviour could question the loyalties of the ambassador. Acquiring specialist knowledge of a state, then, was something not to be encouraged. Venetian response to the 'new diplomacy' was therefore muted in the fifteenth century. Venice did begin to send resident missions,

especially to its long term allies towards the last quarter of the century, but the use of permanent missions, requiring longer term commitment abroad, were still comparatively rare.

In the sixteenth century, however, Venetian diplomatic representation changed and adapted to conform more with the model of Italian and European diplomacy. This change was largely a result of a new political and economic situation in Europe, which saw the ascendancy of France, England and Spain over the Italian states. This was evidenced first in the French invasions of Italy and then the League of Cambrai, which threatened to divide up Venetian territories. However, while other Italian states were swallowed up by new 'great powers', Venice managed to survive, keeping most of her territories intact and maintaining a cautious policy of neutrality.

This position of Venice in the early sixteenth century obviously affected the nature of its diplomatic representation. The need for permanent representation was reinforced by the French invasions; from the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth, Venice had more or less permanent embassies with most of the major European powers.⁴ With this came the use of 'career ambassadors', men who could be absent from the state for a number of years. The Venetian diplomatic service was still regarded as superior; most of our perceptions of Venetian diplomacy date from the sixteenth century.⁵ It is from this period that most of the extant dispatches and *relazioni* date, many of which have been published and hence have entered historical consciousness.⁶

This new era of Italian diplomacy has often been associated with the views expressed in the writings of Nicolo Machiavelli. Clearly, his views were hardly an

⁴ This change in diplomacy is evidenced by Amelot de Houssaye's statement that it was law in Venice that individuals could not leave their ambassadorial posts until their successor had arrived and they had briefed him (written in the second half of the sixteenth century), *History of the Government of Venice*, p. 28

⁵ See for instance Amelot de Houssaye's comments on Venetian diplomacy as the 'School and Touchstone of Ambassadors' (written in the second half of the sixteenth century), *ibid.*, pp. 106-07

⁶ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp. 132, 135; Carter, 'The ambassadors of early modern

objective reflection of Italian political society, but they do indicate the great change occurring in Italian political and cultural values in the early sixteenth century. From 1499, Machivalli was sent on a number of embassies as Florentine diplomatic representative inside Italy and abroad, to Louis XII, Julius II, Maximilian I, and Cesare Borgia. His experiences as a diplomat explain much of the embittered demoralisation of his satire, *The Prince*. As a representative of a weak state, Machiavelli found himself repeatedly ignored and powerless to act. He came to realise, that the only way a state could be powerful and achieve respect was through the force of arms to defend it and attack others. Neutrality was for him the worse course a state could choose.⁷

Cultural contributions

Developments in diplomacy in the second half of the fifteenth century influenced far more than political institutions and international relations. The fact that diplomats were employed on a more permanent basis than ever before and were sent to observe foreign countries and report back on them, must have significantly affected the flow of information across Italy. Although the foregoing discussion has referred to 'Italy' and 'Italian politics', the concept of 'Italy' as a homogenised whole did not exist in the fifteenth century. Despite having a common language and literature, a similarity in culture and historical past, Venetians were Venetian first and Italian second; localism was a far stronger force in *Quattrocento* Italy than nationalism.⁸ Vincent Ilardi has argued that any true notions of *italianità* that existed in Italy in the sixteenth century were not political, but cultural, and were only held by intellectuals in Italian society.⁹ He maintains, however, that among the

Europe, pp. 269-95

⁷ Hale, 'International relations and the west', p. 273; Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp. 101-02

⁸ V. Ilardi, 'Italianità among some Italian intellectuals in the early sixteenth century', *Tradito* vol. 12 (1956), pp. 342-43

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 344

intellectual elite at least, such ideas of *italianità* were widespread by the sixteenth century.¹⁰

Certainly, the formation of an Italian League in the middle of the fifteenth century, supposedly uniting the major Italian states, was not evidence of nascent national consciousness. There was an awareness of 'Italy', but it was based upon the idea of it being a 'permanently divided whole'.¹¹ However, the diplomatic activities of the later *Quattrocento* and early *Cinquecento* may have contributed to this idea of 'Italy'. As we have seen, ambassadors were expected to gather and transmit as much information as possible about the state in which they were resident to their principals. Although communications had always passed between representatives resident abroad and their own governments, these dispatches and *relazioni* led to the first systematic and consistent exchange of detailed information between Italian states. For the first time, through dispatches and *relazioni*, Italian states knew, often quite intimately, the constitution of their neighbours' courts, the movements of their troops, their customs and traditions, their political perspectives. This flow of information may have helped to contribute to a more developed understanding of 'Italy' as a cultural and social entity.

For humanist culture too, the new diplomacy was important. While Venetian expansion on the *terraferma* has always been seen to aid the transmission of cultural ideas, so too did the sending of more regular emissaries abroad. Appointment on an embassy often gave an ambassador with humanist interests the chance to talk to like-minded individuals, and to exchange ideas in a different intellectual environment. Certainly men like Bernardo Bembo made the most of their missions abroad to foster networks of contacts; Bembo became closely associated with Florentine humanists during his diplomatic missions to Florence, and maintained correspondence with some for many years.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 367

Finally, Venetian ambassadors contributed to the cultural life of Venice through their patronage of the arts.¹² As we have seen, these were men who were often quite wealthy (indeed some of the most wealthy men in Venice). They owned *palazzi* on the Grand Canal and villas and land on the *terraferma*. Many of the ambassadors in the core group were also buried in Venice leaving tombs and funerary monuments. Of course, the most splendid of these were the ducal tombs, found especially in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.¹³ However, many other monuments to those who served as ambassadors remain, such as that to Zaccaria and Ermolao Barbaro in San Francesco della Vigna.¹⁴

The nature of Venetian diplomacy in the fifteenth century was a product of the men appointed as Venetian ambassadors. The political qualities and skills of these men, in turn, were influenced by the Venetian political system. This system was one of flexibility. It embraced men into the spheres of both diplomacy and politics, as well as catering for the ambassador's inevitable absences. It was flexible too in allowing men to refuse offices to which they had been elected, if necessary. This versatility meant that Venetian diplomacy was slow to react to changes in diplomacy. The Venetian state did not develop permanent institutions, although by the end of the fifteenth century was beginning to see the advantages of such a system. Instead it continued to use special missions alongside those resident ones sent especially to Rome and Milan. The period of the second half of the fifteenth century was still, for Venice, a transitional one on the road to permanent diplomacy, which would be fully adopted by Europe in the sixteenth century.

¹¹ Laven, *Renaissance Italy*, p. 111

¹² On a different note, ambassadors were also frequently represented in Renaissance art, see for example, Plates 7 and 8 (between pp. 113-114); the former depicts the arrival of ambassadors at the Court of Brittany, which may have been modelled on arrivals and departures of ambassadors Carpaccio had actually seen.

¹³ For ducal tombs see plates 1, 3-6, between pp. 113 and 114

¹⁴ See plate 2, between pp. 113 and 114

APPENDIX 1

BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILES OF VENETIAN AMBASSADORS 1454-94

Note: see my comments on the construction of the profiles in chapter 1, part A

Abbreviations used in the compilation of the profiles

General abbreviations

*Note that secretaries of ambassadors are indicated with an asterix *, while names of patrician ambassadors included in the 'core group' are always given in bold.*

amb	ambassador
avog	avogador di comun
bro	brother
cap	captain
cons	consigliere
corresp	correspondence
CX	member of the Council of Ten
dau	daughter
duc el	ducal elector (usually followed by the name of the doge who was elected)
gen	general
in obed	in obedientia
lt	lieutenant
m	married
pod	podestà
Proc SM	Procurator of S.Marco (sometimes referred to more specifically to di Sopra, Proc d'Ultra Proc di Citra)
prov	provveditore
savcons	savio grande
savord	savio agli ordini
savtf	savio di terraferma
sec	secretary
sind	sindaco

Abbreviations for source material

Note: Also refer to abbreviations given at the beginning of the thesis. Abbreviations for titles of source material and volume/busta/filza number are always given in italics: this is followed by a forward slash and the relevant folio or page number.

<i>Ambrosiana</i>	Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Z. 227 Sup., Corrispondenza diplomatica tra Milano e Venezia (1450-66 and undated)
<i>Barbarigo</i>	Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Cod. A. 325 Lettere e istruzioni di Jacopo Barbarigo sulla guerra della Morea (1465-1466)
<i>Belluno</i>	<i>Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol. II, Podestaria e Capitanato di Belluno. Podestaria e Capitanato di Feltre</i> (Milano 1974)
<i>Bergamo</i>	<i>Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol. XII, Podestaria e Capitanato di Bergamo</i> (Milano 1978)
<i>Betto</i>	Bianca Betto, 'Linee di politica matrimoniale nella nobilita veneziana fino al XV secolo. Alcune note genealogiche e l'esempio della famiglia Mocenigo', <i>Archivio Storico Italiano</i> , vol. 139 (1981), pp. 3-64
<i>Brescia</i>	<i>Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol. XI. Podestaria e Capitanato di Brescia</i> (Milano 1978)
<i>Calendar</i>	R. Brown (ed.), <i>Calendar of State Papers Venetian</i> , vol. 1, 1202-1509 (London 1864)- followed by document number
<i>Capi</i>	ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Lettere
<i>Cicogna</i>	E. A. Cicogna, <i>Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane</i> (Venezia 1824-53)

- Cochrane* E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago and London 1981)
- Coll* ASV, Collegio Notatorio
- Cosenza* M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy 1300-1800*, 5 vols. (Boston 1962-67)
- Crema* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol. XIII. Podestaria e Capitanato di Crema. Provveditorato di Orzinuovi. Provveditorato di Asola* (Milano 1979)
- Dolfín* Marciana, It VII Cod. 794 (8503), Giorgio Dolfín, *Cronaca Veneta dalle origini al 1458* (only fols 417v-460v consulted, 1450-58)
- Davis* J.C. Davis, *A Venetian Family and its Fortune, 1500-1900. The Donà and the Conservation of their Wealth* (Philadelphia 1975)
- Donazzolo* P. Donazzolo, *I Viaggiatori Veneti Minori* (Roma)
- Ferrara* M. Sanuto, *Commentarii della Guerra di Ferrara tra il Viniziani ed il Duca Ercole D'Este nel MCCCCLXXXII* (Venice 1929)
- Finlay* R. Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (London 1980)
- Firenze* ASFi, Signori, Dieci di Balìa, Otto di Pratica, Legazioni, Commisarie, Missive e Responsive
- Fрати* C. Frati, *Dizionario Bio-Biografico dei Bibliotecari e Bibliofili Italiani dal Secolo XIV al XIX* (Firenze 1933)

- Friuli* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma, Vol. I Patria di Friuli* (Milano 1973)
- Gallo* R. Gallo, 'Una famiglia patrizia: I Pisani ed i palazzi di S.Stefano e di Stra', *Archivio Veneto*, 5 series vol. 34-35 (1944), pp. 65-228
- Giannetto* N. Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo: Umanista e Politico Veneziano* (Firenze 1985)
- Gullino* G. Gullino, 'Genealogia e patrimonio del Barbaro, umanisti e patriarch di Aquileia' in *Una famiglia Veneziana nella Storia: I Barbaro*, ed. M. Marangoli and M. Pastore Stocchi (Venice 1996), pp. 67-99
- Kendall and Ilardi* P.M. Kendall and V. Ilardi (eds.) *Dispatches with Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450-1483 vol. I* (Ohio 1970) *vol. II* (1971) *vol.III* (1981)
- King* Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton 1980)
- Kohl and Witt* B. Kohl and R.Witt with E.B. Welles (eds.), *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society* (University of Pennsylvania 1978)
- Labalme* *Bernardo Giustiniani: a Venetian of the Quattrocento* (Rome 1969)
- Legnago* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. vol. VIII. Provveditorato di Legnago* (Milano 1977)
- Lorenzo* *Lettere di Lorenzo de' Medici*, 7 vols (1977-98)

- Magg* ASV, Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni
- Malipiero* D. Malipiero, 'Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tomo 7, parte primo, pp.5-586, parte secondo, pp. 589-720 (1843)
- Mallett and Hale* M.E. Mallett and J.R. Hale, *The Military Organisation of a Renaissance State. Venice c. 1400-1617* (Cambridge 1984)
- Mueller* R.C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, vol. II- *The Venetian Money Market. Banks, Panic and the Public Debt 1200-1500* (Baltimore and London 1997)
- Mosto* Andrea da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia Con Particolare Riguardo alle Loro Tombe* (Venezia 1939)
- Neff* M.Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Society, 1480-1533* (PhD thesis, UCLA, 1985)
- Notarile Testamenti* ASV, Cancelleria inferiore, Notarile Testamenti (followed by number of busta, and sometimes name of notary)
- Padua* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Podestaria e Capitanato di Padova* (Milano 1975)
- Relaz I* L. Firpo (ed), *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, vol. I, *Inghilterra* (Torino 1965)
- Relaz II* L. Firpo (ed.), *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, vol. II, *Germania* (Torino 1970)
- Rettori* ASV, Senato, Letteri di Rettori ed Altri Cariche, Dispacci al Senato, b. 2

- Romano* Dennis Romano, *Patricians and Popolani* (Baltimore and London 1987)
- Rovigo* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol. VI. Podestaria e Capitanato di Rovigo*, (Milano 1976)
- Salo* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol. X. Provveditorato di Salo. Provveditorato di Peschiera* (Milano 1978)
- Sanuto* M. Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto* 58 vols. (Bologna 1969-70)
- SAV* ASV, Segretario alle Voci, Universe o Miste
- Tiepolo* Marciana, It VII Cod. 124 (8323), Giorgio Tiepolo (?), *Cronaca Veneta* sino al 1558 (only f. 201-88 consulted, 1449-98)
- Treviso* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol., III. Podestaria e Capitanato di Treviso* (Milano 1975)
- Valerio* M. King, *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello* (Chicago 1994)
- Veniera* Marciana, It VII Cod. 791 (7589), Famiglie nobili: cronaca della Veniera fino al 1580 (only f. 146-167v consulted, 1449-1500)
- Verona* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol. IX. Podestaria e Capitanato di Verona* (Milano 1977)
- Vicenza* *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma. Vol. VII. Podestaria e Capitanato di Vicenza* (Milano 1976)

- Vite* M. Sanuto, *Le Vite dei Dogi (1474-1494)*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Padua 1989)
- Wien* Wien (Vienna), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 6254, Miscellanea fols 276-308v, Giosafatte Barbaro, Lettere scritte al Senato Veneto dalla Dalmazia e dalla Grecia 1472-73

The Profiles

Note: all dates are given in modern form. All churches are in Venice unless otherwise noted.

Badoer, Sebastiano (Badoero Baduario Baduarius)¹

miles

c 1427-1498

son of Giacomo di Sebastiano and Maria, dau of Moise Grimani di Pietro; bro of Girolamo
1448 m Catturuzza, dau of Pancrazio Giustiniani; father of Giacomo (fought against the
Turks in 1477), Antonio

Ambassadorial posts

Naples 1457; Hungary 1474-76 with Bartolomeo de Brandis*; Rome 1479; Rome 1482;
cap-gen with **Antonio Vettore** 1482; Emperor Frederick III 1483-84; France 1484; Milan
1485-86 with Giorgio Franco*; Rome 1486;² Milan 1487; Rome 1487-88 (resident); in
obed to Alessandro VI 1492 with **Marino Lion, Paolo Barbo di Andrea, Cristoforo
Duodo**; Milan 1494-95 with **Benedetto Trevisan** with Giorgio Negro*; refused mission to
the King of the Romans 1496

Other posts

pod of Bergamo 1477; pod of Verona 1478; cap of Brescia 1479; avog 1481-82; savtf
1482-83; pod of Verona 1484; cons 1486; CX 1487: cons 1489; cap of Padua 1490;
savcons 1492; cons 1493; cons 1494; cons 1496; savcons 1496; savcons 1498

Education/Intellectual interests

education with Paolo della Pergola at the Rialto school

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Oratio ad Alexandrum VI Pontificem Maximum in prestanda Venetorum
obedientia* (17 Dec. 1492); *Oratio ad Sixtum IV, Responsio ad pontificis responsionem*

Letters: from humanists including Marcantonio Sabellico, Marsilio Ficino and Bernardino
Guadolo

¹ Note that there are several homonyms for this ambassador- for more details see *King* 317

² *Stampalia* 134r states that Badoer was sent to the King of the Romans in 1486 with Pietro
Diedo; this reference has been excluded from the database, as it is uncorroborated by any other
source- it may refer to the mission to the King of the Romans which Badoer turned down in 1496.

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1445

Dispatches; Dispacci alla Signoria di Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan 1494-95, Ambasciatori a Ludovico Sforza (Marciana It VII Cod. 547- 8529)

Funeral monument: S. Francesco della Vigna (see Plate 5)

Sources

Balla 2/26v; *Barbaro* I/74; *Calendar* 642; *Collegio (commissioni) reg* 1482-95/21v; *Collegio (lett sec) F.* 1/104r; *Cosenza* 1/362-63; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/4r, 2/7r, 2/6v; *CXMiste* 20/218r; *DBI* 5/124-26; *Ferrara* 81; *Gradenigo* 18r; *King* 317-18; *Lorenzo* 3/357, 4/3-4, 4/9, 4/15, 4/37, 4/63, 4/82-83, 4/86-87; *Magg* 23/195v, 24/68v, 24/43r; *Malipiero* 98-99, 206; *Neff* 391, 439, 486; *Sanuto* 1/1004; *SAV6* 2r, 6/21r; *Sforzesco* 382 (12/1494), 363 (26/2/1476), 382 (2/1494); *SS* 34/142v, 30/127r; *Stampalia* 7v, 94v, 134v, 214v, 215v; *Vite* 139, 293

Ambassadorial commissions

Hungary 1474, *SS* 26/124v-125r; Rome 1479, *SS* 28/153r-54r; cap-gen, *Collegio (commissioni) reg* 1482-95/21v-22r; Emperor 1483, *SS* 31/45r-47v; Rome 1487, *SS* 33/125v-127r; Milan 1494, *SS* 35/59r-v

Barbarigo, Agostino (Barbarico Barbadicus Barbarigus)

doge

1419-1501

son of Francesco di Pietro (amb to Florence 1439; Proc SM 1442) and Cassandra, dau of Nicolò Morosini; bro of **Marco** (doge), **Girolamo**, Giovanni, Elena (m Doge Nicolò Marcello)

1449 m Elisabetta, dau of Andrea Soranzo; father of five children including Francesco

Ambassadorial posts

amb/prov to Roberto Sanseverino, with **Zaccaria Barbaro** 1483

Other posts

pod of Verona 1478; pod and cap of Padua 1482; prov in Polesine 1482-84; prov in Ravenna 1483; Proc di Sopra 1485; doge 1486-1501

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1438

Wills dated 17/7/1501 and 5/8/1501

Sources

Balla 2/66r; *Barbaro* I/163, I/171; *Cosenza* 1/393; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/10r, 2/19v; *DBI* 6/47-49; *SS* 32/57v; *Notarile Testamenti* 416/14-16 (Florini); *Verona* lxxxix

Ambassadorial commissions

Roberto Sanseverino 1483, *SS* 31/57r

Barbarigo, Girolamo (Barbarico Barbadicus Barbarigus)

c 1402-1467³

son of Francesco di Pietro (amb to Florence 1438; Proc SM 1442) and Cassandra, dau of Nicolò Morosini; bro of **Marco** (doge), **Agostino** (doge), **Giovanni**, **Elena** (m Doge Nicolò Marcello)

1428 m **Cristina**, dau of Pietro Morosini di Ricco; father of **Domenico**, **Antonio**, **Lorenzo**, **Maria**, **Paola**, **Cecilia**, **Francesca**, **Ludovico**, **Giacomo**

Ambassadorial posts⁴

Genoa 1451-52; Naples and Rome 1454-55, with **Zaccaria Trevisan**; in obed to Pope Pius II 1458 with **Triadano Gritti**, **Matteo Vettore**, **Vettore Capello**; Milan 1464 with **Domenico Stella***; in obed to Pope Paul II 1464, with **Nicolò Tron**, **Triadano Gritti**, **Ludovico Foscari**, **Vettore Capello**, **Zaccaria Trevisan**, **Nicolò Soranzo**, **Pietro Mocenigo**, **Andrea Lion**, **Hector Pasquale**; cap-gen at sea 1466-67; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1467

Other posts

savord 1437; cap of 2nd galley to Flanders 1441; savtf 1448-49; cons 1449; savtf 1450; savtf 1450-51; savtf 1451; cons 1452; cap of Verona 1452; savtf 1453; prov in campo

³ *DBI* 6/66 gives Barbarigo's birth date as c. 1410- however, this does not correspond with Barbarigo's enrolment in the Balla (he was enrolled in 1420).

1452-53; cap of Brescia 1453; prov in Brescia 1453-54; savcons 1454; lt in Friuli 1455-56; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; savcons 1457-58; CX 1458; savcons 1459; cons 1459; avog 1459-60; cons 1461; savcons 1461; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; savcons 1462; CX 1462-63; savcons 1463; cons 1464; savcons 1465; CX 1465-66; savcons 1466; savcons 1467; Proc di Citra 1467; prov in Romagna 1467; poisoned in Ravenna while prov there in 1467

Education/Intellectual interests

noted by King as humanist

Letters: correspondence with Pier Candido Decembrio; letters from Francesco Barbaro and Ludovico Foscari

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1420

Was thought by Ludovico Foscari to possess great wealth (*King* 319)

Funeral monument: S.Andrea del Lido, detto La Certosa

Sources

Balla 1/18v; *Barbaro* I/171, I/163, I/167; *Cicogna* 2/58; *Cosenza* 1/395; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/9v, 2/19v; *CXMiste* 17/49r; *DBI* 6/66-67; *Dolfin* 423r, 439r; *King* 319-320; *Neff* 550; *SS* 22/37r, 23/11r, 23/30r-v; *Stampalia* 7r, 38r, 94r, 213v

Ambassadorial commissions

Genoa 1451-2, *SS* 19/86v-87r; Pope Pius II 1458, *SS* 20/164r-165r; Milan 1463, *SS* 21/227v; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1466 *SS* 23/65r, 23/11r

Barbarigo, Marco (Barbarico Barbadicus Barbarigus)

doge

1413-1486

⁴ *DBI* 6/66 states that Barbarigo served on at least thirty embassies; I find no evidence for this, unless one takes into account the posts he held in the *terraferma* and as *provveditore*.

son of Francesco di Pietro (amb to Florence 1439; Proc SM 1442) and Cassandra, dau of Nicolò Morosini; bro of Agostino (doge), **Girolamo**, Giovanni, Elena (m Doge Nicolò Marcello)

1440 m Luzia dau of Francesco Ruzzini di Ruzzier; father of Pierfrancesco, Girolamo, Marino, Andrea (pod of Bergamo and pod of Verona), Gregorio, Bernardo, Giorgio, Marina (m **Andrea Capello**)

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1471 (elected); refused embassy to Milan; Ferrara 1475 with **Paolo Morosini**⁵

Other posts

cap of Brescia 1466: savtf 1466; avog 1467; avog 1470; cap of Padua 1471; cons 1473; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; Proc di Sopra 1478; cap of Padua 1485; doge 1485-86; died after a violent dispute with his brother Agostino, who he accused of wanting to kill him in order to become doge.

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1432

Sources

Balla 1/27v; *Barbaro* I/163, I/167, I/171-72; *Brescia* liii; *Cosenza* 1/394; *Cronaca Matrimonia*, 1/9v, 2/19v; *CXMiste* 18/56v; *Da Mosto* 139-42; *DBI* 6/73; *Labalme* 203-06; *Padua* liii; *SAV6/9r*; *Sforzesco* 375 (30/8/1486); *SS* 23/3r, 23/131r; 25/14r; *Stampalia* 46r; *Vite* 78

Barbaro, Ermolao (Barbarus Almor)

miles doctor

1453-1493

son of **Zaccaria** di Francesco and Clara, dau of **Andrea Vendramin** di Bartolomeo (doge); bro of Daniel, Ludovico (cap of Bergamo 1521-23; prov in Ravenna 1528), **Girolamo**,

⁵ *Labalme* (203-06) states that Barbarigo was sent to Ferrara in 1473- no reference to this mission was found in primary material; note also that *Stampalia* (46r) states that Barbarigo was appointed ambassador to Milan in 1476, but refused the post.

Andrianna and Maria; grandson of Francesco (amb to Mantua, Ferrara, Rome, Milan, Proc SM); 2nd cousin of elder Ermolao

Ambassadorial posts

acompanied his father on mission to Rome 1480-81; accompanied father on mission to Milan 1485; King of the Romans with **Domenico Trevisan** (Bruges) 1486; Milan 1488-89; Rome 1490-91 (resident), replaced by **Girolamo Donato**

Other posts

savtf 1488; savtf 1489-90; avog 1490; patriarch of Aquileia 1491

Education/Intellectual interests

Elementary studies from 1460 in Verona with Matteo Bosso. In Rome from 1462 with Pomponio Leto and Theodore Gaza; Padua from 1471; doc in arts 1474, in law 1477 noted by King as a humanist

Renowned humanist, one of the most important of his generation

Works: *Castigationes pliniana et in Pomponiui Melam*; *De Coelibatu*; *De Officio Legati*; *Epistolae, orationes, carmina*

Letters: correspondence with many humanists including Marsilio Ficino, Pietro Foscari, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Marcantonio Sabellico, Angelo Poliziano, Giorgio Merula

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1471

Barbaro accepted the post of patriarch of Aquileia in defiance of Venetian law, who did not approve his appointment and who had already decided on another candidate; Venice sent Barbaro's friend **Girolamo Donato** and his father **Zaccaria** to persuade Ermolao to return without success; Ermolao died of plague in 1493 (see *King* pp. 204-05).

Sources

Balla 3/21r; *Barbaro* I/199; *Branca* 222; *Calendar* 500; *Cochrane* 80; *Collegio (lett sec) filza* 1/70r; *Collegio (lett sec) reg* 6/9v; *Cosenza* 1/404-12; *DBI* 6/96-99, 6/83-84; *Gullino* 95, 96; *IBI* 1/145; *King* 322-23; *Stampalia* 194r

Ambassadorial commissions

King of the Romans 1486, SS 33/29r-v

Secondary Sources

L. Banfi, 'Ermolao Barbaro, Venezia, ed il patriarchato di Aquileia', *Nuova Antologia*, vol. 91 (1956), pp. 421-28; Vittore Branca, 'Ermolao Barbaro and Late Quattrocento Humanism', J.R.Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice* (London 1973), pp. 218-43; M. L. Doglio, 'Ambasciatore e principe. L'Institutio legati di Ermolao Barbaro', *Miscellanea di Studi in Onore di Vittore Branca*, vol. III, tomo I, *Umanesimo Rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia*, tomo I (Firenze 1983), pp. 297-310

9.00 Barbaro, Giosafat (Barbarus)

1413-1494

son of Antonio di Giacomo and Franceschina; bro of Anzolo

1434 m Nona, dau of Arsenio Duodo di Pietro; father of Giovanni Antonio and three daus

Ambassadorial posts

Persia 1473-79, where met **Ambrogio Contarini**

Other posts

merchant in youth; went to Tana 1434; consul at Corone and Modone 1448; refused consulship in Tana 1460; prov in Albania 1463-65; prov in Albania 1469; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; in Dalmatia and Greece 1472-73; cap of Rovigo 1482; prov of Polesine 1482; savcons, cons

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1431

Left travelogue of his time in Persia- *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josapha Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini* (Hakluyt Society, London 1873)

Dispacci: Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 6254, Miscellanea fols 276-308v, Giosafatte Barbaro, Lettere scritte al Senato Veneto dalla Dalmazia e dalla Grecia 1472-73
Will dated 4/2/1472

Funeral monument; S. Maria Formosa in cloister of Sant' Andrea della Vigna

Sources

Balla 1/23r; *Barbaro* I/207, I/195; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/8r, 2/14v; *DBI* 6/106-109; *Donazzolo* 28-32; *Enc It* 133; *Hakluyt* 1-55; *IBI* 1/145; *Magg* 23/192v; *Notarile Testamenti* 27/2449 (Tomaso); *SS* 23/77v; *Stampalia* 153r

Ambassadorial commissions

Persia 1473, *SS* 25/183v-187r

Secondary sources

U. Tucci, 'Il viaggio di Giosafat Barbaro, mercante a uomo politico', in M. Marangoni and M. Pastore Stocchi (eds.), *Una Famiglia Veneziana nella Storia: I Barbaro* (Venezia 1996), pp. 117-32

Barbaro, Girolamo (Barbarus)⁶

doctor

son of Daniel

Ambassadorial posts

Faenza 1479-80 in place of Girolamo Marcello.⁷

Sources

Vite 158, 179

Barbaro, Zaccaria (Barbarus)

miles

1423-1492

⁶ Lack of information has made this individual difficult to identify. One likely possibility, however, is Girolamo, son of Daniel di Zaccaria, who was both doctor and *miles*. He married in 1479 and was sent to King Ferdinand in 1509- see *Barbaro* I/203.

⁷ *Grad* (76r) has an individual of this name serving as special ambassador to Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg in 1489 with Domenico Grimani, Girolamo Lion and Paolo Trevisan (*Stampalia* (194r) dates this embassy to 1490). No corroboration for this embassy has been found in any other source, although *Barbaro* does mention that Domenico Grimani di Andrea went on an embassy to the Emperor, without specifying a year (*Barbaro* IV/145). Another possibility is that this post refers to one that Antonio Grimani was elected to in 1489 but never actually took up (to the Emperor). Note also that Paolo Trevisan was ambassador to Mantua in 1489.

son of Francesco di Candiano (amb to Rome 1426; Florence 1428; Emperor 1433; Bologna 1437; Milan and Ferrara in 1444; ProcSM) and Maria, dau of Pietro Loredan (sister of **Giacomo Loredan**); bro of Paola; cousin of the elder Ermolao

1449 m Clara di **Andrea Vendramin** di Bartolomeo (doge); father of **Ermolao the younger**, Daniel, Girolamo, Ludovico (cap of Bergamo 1521-23, prov in Ravenna 1528), Andrianna and Maria

Ambassadorial posts

King of Aragon 1459 with Bartolomeo della Piazza*; Rome 1462; Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg (Verona) 1469 with **Pietro Molin**, **Francesco Giustiniani**, **Domenico Moro**; Naples 1471-73 (resident); Mantua for wedding of Paolo, dau of Marquis Ludovico Gonzaga and Leonardo, Count of Gorizia 1476; Milan 1477 with **Vettore Soranzo** (accompanied by his son **Ermolao Barbaro**); Ferrara 1479; Rome 1480-81 (accompanied by his son **Ermolao**), replaced by **Francesco Diedo**; Robert Sanseverino 1482;⁸ amb/prov to Roberto Sanseverino 1483 with **Agostino Barbarigo**; papal legate, Cesena 1484 with **Federico Corner**; Milan 1485

Other posts

duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; savtf 1468; savtf 1469; pod and cap of Ravenna 1469-70; CX 1471; savtf 1473; CX 1473-74; savtf 1474; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; avog 1475; cap of Verona 1475-76; cap of Verona 1476; prov to Malpaga 1476 after death of Bartolomeo Colleoni with **Francesco Diedo** and **Candiano Bollani**; prov in Friuli 1477; savcons 1478; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; pod of Padua 1478-79; savcons 1480; cons 1481; savcons 1482; CX 1482-83; prov in Brescia 1483-84; cons 1484; savcons 1484; savcons 1485; savtf 1485; duc el Marco Barbarigo 1485; cons 1486; Proc SM 1487; cons 1488; savcons 1488; savcons 1490; was ordered to get his son **Ermolao** to refuse the post of patriarch of Aquileia, to which he had been appointed without Venetian consent 1490-91

Education/Intellectual interests

early humanist studies with Lorenzo Cesano

noted by King as humanist

⁸ *Stampalia* (7v) notes that Zaccaria Barbaro was sent to as ambassador to the cap-gen with Francesco Michiel.

collector of Greek and Latin manuscripts

Works: a life of his father with dedicatory letter to King Ferdinand of Aragon 1472; *Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro, Ambasciatore Veneto in Neapoli 1471-73* (Marciana It VII Cod 398 –8170), published in G. Corazzolo (ed.), *Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro 1471-1473* (Roma 1994)

Letters: to Pier Candido Decembrio, Francesco Barbaro, Maffeo Vallaresso

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1441

According to *King* (p. 325-27), Barbaro was a very wealthy man; she refers to a loan he gave to the city for 3000 ducats in 1482 to support the Ferrarese War. His wife Clara Vendramin brought with her a large dowry of between 5 and 7, 000 ducats, with which a palazzo at San Vidal on the Canale Grande was bought (*Gullino* 95-96).

Funeral monument: S. Francesco della Vigna (see Plate 2)

Sources

Balla 2/42r; *Barbaro* I/199; *Capi* FI/71; *Cosenza* 1/412; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/8v, 2/15r-v; *DBI* 6/83-84, 6/118-19, 29/18; *Gullino* 95, 96; *King* 325-27; *Lorenzo* 2/263, 5/41, 5/43, 5/52, 5/264; *Neff* 503-04; *Sforzesco* 87 (17/1/1480), 364 (3/1476), 364 (20/10/1475); *Stampalia* 7v, 21v, 46r, 52r, 127r, 132r, 215r; *Vite* 78, 85

Ambassadorial commissions

Emperor 1468, *SS* 23/149r; Naples 1471, *SS* 25/72v-73r (for a transcription of this commission see Corazzol, *Dispacci di Zaccaria Barbaro*, pp. 667-70); Milan 1477, *SS* 27/133r; Ferrara 1479, *SS* 29/58r; Rome 1480, *SS* 29/118r-120v; Roberto Sanseverino 1483, *SS* 31/57r; Cesena 1484, *SS* 32/29r; Milan 1485, *SS* 32 162r-163r

Barbo, Paolo (Barbus)

miles

1416-1462

son of Nicolò di Paolo di Nicolò and Polissena dau of Anzolo Condulmer, sister of Pope Eugenius IV; bro of Pietro Barbo (Pope Paul II)

1434 m dau of Signor di Vintimia, widow of Giacopuzzo Caldira,⁹ 1448 m dau of Maffeo Soranzo; father of Giovanni

Ambassadorial posts

Lodi 1454; Milan 1454 with **Nicolò Da Canal**; France 1461-62 with **Bernardo Giustiniani**

Other posts

resided at papal court and did military service for his uncle (Pope Eugene IV) until 1447 and received knighthood; CX 1449; CX 1450-51; cap of Treviso 1450-51; savtf 1450-51; sent to meet Emperor Frederick III at Padua 1452; savtf 1452; prov in Verona 1452; cons 1452-53; prov with army in Lombardy 1453; savtf 1453-54; savtf 1454; savtf 1455; CX 1455; cons 1455-56; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; savtf 1457; avog 1457-58; exiled as punishment for not having persuaded his brother to renounce the bishiopric of Padua 1458-59; savtf 1460; CX 1460-61; savtf 1461; avog 1462; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462

Education/Intellectual interests

education with Andrea Fiocchi

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Oratio in traditione insignium Bartolome de Colionibus* (Brescia 1455); *Oration ad Imperatorum Federicum III* (Padua 1452); *Oratio ad Ludovicum Francorum regem* (Tours 1461)

Letters: from Nicolò Barbo and Andrea Fiocchi

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1434

Will dated 1460

Sources

Balla 1/14r; *Cosenza* 1/420; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/13r; *DBI* 6/254-255; *Dolfin* 439v; *King* 329-31; *Notarile Testamenti* 31/3929; *Stampalia* 94r

⁹ This reference comes from *Cronaca Matrimonia* (2/13r); *King* (330) states that Barbo married Ventimiglia della Vedova in 1434.

Ambassadorial commission

Milan 1454, *SS* 20/39v; France 1461, *SS* 21/61v

Barbo, Paolo (Barbus)

1423-1509

son of Andrea di Giovanni (miles) di Nicolò and Maria, dau of Giovanni Barbo;¹⁰ bro of Pietro

1457 m dau of Daniel Zulian di Andrea, 1479 m dau of Vincenzo Gerzoni, widow of Francesco Longo

Ambassadorial posts

refused mission to Spain 1478; in obed to Pope Alessandro VI with **Cristoforo Duodo, Marino Lion, Sebastiano Badoer** 1492

Other posts

avog and sind in terraferma 1464; pod of Chioggia 1481; refused post of pod of Brescia 1485- instead of paying 500 ducat fine, was sent to Zara for one year; prov in campo, Vicenza 1487; lt in Friuli 1492; cap of Verona 1494; pod of Padua 1497-98; savcons 1498; cons 1499; pod of Cremona 1500; savcons 1501; Proc SM 1502; savcons 1503; savcons 1507

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1440

Sources

Balla 2/47r; *Coll* 15/3r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/13r; *DBI* 6/255-56; *Gradenigo* 18r; *Friuli* lix; *Samuto* 1/979, 1/614; *SS* 34/142v; *Vite* 147

¹⁰ *DBI* and *Cronaca Matrimonia* (2/13r) differ over the mother of Paolo Barbo; *DBI* states that Maria, dau of Giovanni Barbo was Paolo's mother, while *Cronaca Matrimonia* notes that Andrea di Giovanni (Paolo's father) first married Maria, dau of Vitale Da Canal, and second the dau of Niccolo Pisani.

Bassadona, Nicolò (Bassadena Basadonna)

c 1416- after 1474

son of Giovanni di Francesco and Elisabetta, dau of Pietro da Ravenna (m 1413); bro of Filippo and Antonio

1444 m Maria, dau of Nicolò Grimani di Bartolomeo; father of Giovanni

Ambassadorial posts

Count of Corbavia 1453 for conference at Zara;¹¹ King of Tunis 1464

Other posts

savord 1450; savord 1451; savord 1453; prov in Salo 1473

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1434

Will dated 1474

Sources

Balla 1/26v; *Barbaro* 1/258; *Collegio*, 101v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/18v, 2/48r; *Gradenigo* 389v; *Notarile Testamenti* 1240/29; *SAV6*/48v; *SS* 19/30v, 19/204r; *Stampalia* 4r, 121r

Bembo, Bernardo (Bembus)

doctor miles

1433-1519

son of Nicolò di Bernardo and Elizabeth, dau of Andrea de ca' Paruta; bro of Tomaso (m Isabella Zane di Antonio)

1462 m Elena, dau of Matteo Morosini di Giovanni, 1513 m Elena, dau of Giovanni Marcello di Pietro; father of Pietro (cardinal and bibliophile), Bartolomeo, Antonio, Carlo, Tomaso

¹¹ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (389v) and *Barbaro* (1/258)

Ambassadorial posts

Castile 1468-69, with Antonio Vinciguerra*; Burgundy 1471-74; Austria 1474; Florence 1475-76, with Tomaso de Freschi* (resident) travelled with **Paolo Morosini** who went onto Rome as ambassador there (mission to Florence had already been refused by **Zaccaria Barbaro, Antonio Priuli and Giovanni Emo**), replaced by **Pietro Molin**; Ferrara 1476; Florence 1478-80 (resident), replaced **Giovanni Emo**; Duke of Lorraine 1483 with **Benedetto Pesaro**; England and France 1483-84;¹² in obed to Pope Innocent VIII 1485 with **Pietro Diedo, Ludovico Bragadin, Antonio Loredan**, probably stayed on in Rome as resident; Rome 1487-88; Louis XII, Milan and Pavia 1502; in obed to Pope Julius II 1505 with **Andrea Venier, Nicolo Foscari, Leonardo Mocenigo, Domenico Trevisan, Andrea Gritti, Paolo Pisani, Girolamo Donato**

Other posts

duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; CX 1477; CX 1478; pod and cap of Ravenna 1478-83, where he famously restored Dante's tomb; avog 1486; tried for fiscal impropriety and acquitted 1487; pod of Bergamo 1489-90; avog 1494-95; CX 1496; CX 1497; visdomino of Ferrara 1497-99; CX 1499; CX 1500; avog 1500; CX 1501; duc el Leonardo Loredan 1501; pod of Verona 1502-03; avog 1504; avog 1505; CX 1505; CX 1506; avog 1509-10; avog 1510-12; cons 1510; cons 1511; avog 1512-13; CX 1513; cons 1513; CX 1514

Education/Intellectual interests

educated at Padua, doctor of arts under Gaetano da Thiene 1455, doctorate of law granted 1456

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Gratulatio ad Christophorum Maurum pro clarissimo divini atque humani iuris scolasticorum ordine Patavini habita* (1462); *Oratio in adventu Cardinalis Sancti Angeli Legati Apostolici*; *Oratio in adventu Jacobi Zeni*; *Oratio in funebre Bertholdi Marchionis Estensis* (1464); *3 orationes ad Innocentium VIII* (1487-88); *Zibaldone*

Letters: to many humanists including Marcantonio Sabellico, Lorenzo de' Medici, Pietro Barozzi; formed close contacts with Florentine humanism

See *Giannetto* pp. 259-394 for more information about Bembo's intellectual interests and details of many of his orations and letters.

¹² There is some doubt as to whether Bembo went on this embassy; see *King* pp 336-37, *DBI* 18/105; *Giannetto* 43

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1451

Had financial problems at various points in his career; occasionally tried to raise loans, especially from Lorenzo de' Medici; despite this, possessed land in Padua and elsewhere on the *terraferma* (King 336)

Funeral monument; S. Salvador

Sources

Balla 2/36v; *Barbaro* I/313, I/325; *Calendar* 436, 484, 485; *Collegio (lett sec)* 5/94v; *Cosenza* 1/489-90; *DBI* 8/103-109; *Cronaca Matrimonia*, 1/15r-v, 2/32v, 2/33v; *Ferrara* 81; *Firenze* 20/23v; *King* 335-39; *Lorenzo* 2/85, 2/89, 2/143, 2/374, 3/66, 3/70, 3/166, 3/234, 3/362, 3/396, 4/4, 4/7, 4/16, 4/22, 4/25, 4/318, 5/47, 7/11; *Magg* 24/97v; *Neff* 441, 583; *Sanuto* 2/7; *Sforzesco* 365 (12/2/1479); *Stampalia* 7v, 98v, 101r, 124r, 162r, 215r; *Vite* 78

Ambassadorial commissions

Florence 1478, *SS* 28/114v; Duke of Lorraine 1483, *SS* 31/44r; Rome 1485, *SS* 32/146-47v; Rome 1487, *SS* 33/125v; Rome 1505, *SS* 40/105r

Secondary sources

Vittorio Cian, 'Per Bernardo Bembo- I: Le sue relazioni coi Medici', *Giornale Storico Letteratura Italiani*, vol. 28 (1894), pp. 348-64; 'Per Bernardo Bembo- II: Le relazioni letterari, i codici e gli scritti', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. 31 (1898), 49-81; N. Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo: umanista e politico Veneziano* (Firenze 1985); F. Pintor, 'Le due ambascerie di Bernardo Bembo a Firenze e le sue relazioni coi Medici', *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna* (1911), pp. 785-813; Arnaldo della Torre, 'La prima ambasceria di Bernardo Bembo a Firenze', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. 35 (1900), pp. 258-333

Bernardo, Antonio (Bernardus)

doctor miles

c 1430- c 1504

son of Andrea di Francesco (amb to Florence 1433) and Nicoletta, dau of Andrea Dandolo di Marco (m 1418); bro of Giovanni, Zaccaria, Lorenzo (pod of Chioggia), Dandolo, Girolamo

1462 m Elena, dau of Carlo Quirini; father of Marcantonio, Paolo, Carlo, Ludovico, Andrea

Ambassadorial posts

Dalmatia 1486-87¹³

Other posts

pod of Padua 1463; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; pod of Vicenza 1484-66, and notoriously expelled the Jews; cap and pod of Treviso 1489; CX 1495-96; cap of Bergamo 1497-98; CX 1498; CX 1499; CX 1500; CX 1501; CX 1502

Education/Intellectual interests

student at Padua; nominated professor extraordinary of civil law at Padua 1462 with annual stipend of 30 gold ducats

noted by King as a humanist

Works: *Oratio in doctoratu Albertini Baduarii*; *Oratio pro doctoratu Jacobi Molini in gymnasio patavino*

Sources

Barbaro III/17; *Bergamo* xxxix; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/20v, 2/42v; *CXMiste* 28/89v; *DBI* 9/304-305; *Gradenigo* 297r; *King* 339-40; *SAV*6/21v; *SS* 33/49r, 33/70; *Treviso* liv

Boldù, Antonio

doctor miles

c 1450-1497

son of Andrea di Francesco (sind in Levant 1470) and Maddelana, dau of Giacomo Emo (m 1437); bro of Francesco and Girolamo

¹³ *Gradenigo* (297r) notes Antonio Bernardo is in Burgundy in 1470; this embassy has been excluded as there is no reference to it in any manuscript/primary source and because it may refer to Antonio Dandolo, who was ambassador to Burgundy 1468-69.

1473 m Fiordelize, dau of Marco Sentini, 1488 m Cristina, dau of **Giovanni Moro di Antonio**; father of Gabriel (canon of Padua), Giovanni (cap of Vincenza 1543, prov at Salo 1550), Benedetto, Anzolo, Giovannibattista, Bernardo, Andrea; grandfather of Andrea (amb to Savoy 1594)

Ambassadorial posts

Emperor Frederick III 1489-90; Spain and Portugal 1497 with **Domenico Trevisan**- died in Genoa while on mission¹⁴

Other posts

savord 1471; cap and prov of Legnago 1478; savcons 1482-83; prov gen of army 1483; pod of Rovigo 1490; prov gen of Polesine 1490; avog 1492; visdomino Ferrara 1495; CX 1496; cons 1496; avog 1496; CX 1497

Education/Intellectual interests

friend of Pietro Bembo and 'anatomista' Alessandro Benedetti

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1459

Funeral monument: S. Severo

Sources

Balla 2/63v; *Barbaro* II/56; *Cicogna* 3/106, 3/108; *Collegio (lett sec)* F. 1/7r, 1/51r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/13v, 2/29v, 2/30r; *DBI* 11/266-67; *Finlay* 76-77; *Gradenigo* 143v, 187r; *Lorenzo* 6/26; *Sanuto* 1/383, 1/741, 1/652, 1/786, 1/779; *SAV6* 135r; *SS* 25/34r, 31/105r; *Stampalia* 198r

Ambassadorial commissions

Emperor 1489, *SS* 34/19r-20v; Spain *SS* 36/169v-172r

¹⁴ *Gradenigo* (279r) and *Stampalia* (102r) notes that Antonio Boldu di Antonio was amb to Savoy in 1493; there is no reference to this embassy in the manuscript/primary sources and so has been excluded; it could possibly refer to Antonio Boldu di Andrea's grandson (Andrea) who was amb to Savoy in 1594.

Boldù, Leonardo

b c 1420

son of Pietro di Leonardo and Franceschina, dau of Vinciguerra Bozzo

1450 m dau of Conforto Morosini di Giacomo, 1460 m Fiordelize, dau of Conte Rainaldo da Colalto; father of Pietro (Duke of Candia)

Ambassadorial posts

amb/prov to Constantinople 1455; Constantinople 1467; Constantinople 1468

Other posts

prov to Salò and Riviera Bresciana 1461; rector of Scutari 1465; savord 1471; prov of all Albania 1473; prov in Lombardy 1476; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476

Education/Intellectual interestsscholar of Greek (*DBI* 11/270)

friend of Giosfat Barbaro

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1439

Sources*Balla* 2/63r; *Barbaro* II/55, II/53; *Capi* F1/59; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/13v, 2/29v; *DBI* 11/270-72; *Gradenigo* 231v; *Lorenzo* 2/222; *Salò* lxiii, *SS* 26/102r, 27/89r; *Stampalia* 121r, 172r**Bollani, Candiano (Pollani Bolanus Bollanus)**

c 1413-1478

son of Maffeo di Candiano and Vittoria, dau of Nicolò Vettore di Daniel; bro of Nicolò, Bernardo, Andrea, Pietro, and Maria (who married **Francesco Michiel**)1438 m Lucrezia di Pietro Marcello di Bertucio; father of Maffeo, **Domenico**, Francesco (avog), Girolamo (author of several theological works), Maria (m **Francesco Michiel**)

Ambassadorial posts

Ferrara 1452; Istria 1452; Ferrara 1472; Milan 1475, probably with Ludovico Manenti*

Other posts

diplomatic mission to Pordenone 1455; savtf 1456; savtf 1458; savtf 1460; pod and cap of Belluno 1460; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; savtf 1462; savtf 1463; pod of Vicenza 1464; CX 1465; savtf 1465; cap of Candia 1466; cons 1469; avog 1469-70; cap and prov of Brescia 1471; avog 1472; CX 1472-73; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; savcons 1473; avog 1473; cap of Verona 1474-75; CX 1475; savcons 1475; prov to Malpaga 1476, and on death of Bartolomeo Colleoni joined by **Zaccaria Barbaro** and **Francesco Diedo**,¹⁵ cons 1476; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; savcons 1477; CX 1477-78; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; prov in Friuli 1478; savcons 1478

Educational/Intellectual interests

student, perhaps with **Ludovico Foscarini**, of George of Trebizond

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Libri XVIII in tria priora capita Genesis* (1466); *Oratio gratulatoria de creatione Christophori Mauri*; *In rhetoricorum novorum Ciceronis librum primum commentum*; *Tractatus super canticum gloriosissimae virginis Mariae*; *Triologus in rebus futuris annorum XX proximorum*; *Oratio de laudibus Francisci Sphortiae Mediolanensis*; *Oratio de invidia*

Letters: from **Ludovico Foscarini** and Maffeo Vallaresso

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1431

Involved in commerce and trade- according to *King* (340), was granted privileges to mine precious and other minerals around Brescia and Bergamo; despite this, was described as financially insecure by his son Girolamo.

Sources

Balla 1/16r; *Barbaro* II/35, II/33; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/6r, 2/10v; *DBI* 11/287-89; *King* 340-41; *Lorenzo* 2/503; *Neff* 466; *Sforzesco* 364 (20/10/1475), 367 (29/9/1478); *Stampalia* 7r, 15r

¹⁵ *Stampalia* (7r) notes that Bollani was ambassador to the cap-gen in 1475, presumably referring to this embassy.

Ambassadorial commissions

Ferrara 1472, SS 25/151r; Milan 1475, SS 27/47r-48r

Bollani, Domenico (Pollani Bolanus Bollanus)¹⁶

doctor miles

c 1445-c 1496

son of **Candiano di Maffeo** and **Lucrezia**, dau of **Pietro Marcello di Bertucio**; bro of **Maffeo, Francesco, Girolamo**

1475 m **Isabella**, dau of **Michiel Boldù di Bertucio**; father of **Pietro** and **Marcantonio**

Ambassadorial posts

Genoa 1477; Mantua 1478; Mantua 1479; Spain 1479-80;¹⁷ Hungary 1481-82; Dalmatia 1488 with **Bernardino de' Ambrosis***; Hungary 1489-90

Other posts

sind and prov in Dalmatia and Albania 1474; sind and prov in Dalmatia and Albania 1477; duc el **Giovanni Mocenigo** 1478; sind and prov in Eastern Medit 1480 with **Nicolò Stella***; sind and prov in Eastern Medit 1483-84; avog 1487; savtf 1491; avog 1492-93; accused by **Antonio Boldù** before the Senate of taking bribes and exiled to Crete 1493

Education/Intellectual interests

doctor of arts at Padua, may have stayed on to study theology

noted by King as humanist

Works: *De conceptione gloriosissime Virginis Mariae*

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1465

¹⁶ Domenico di Francesco and Domenico di Candiano are close homonyms and that there have been some problems in distinguishing between the offices held by each.

¹⁷ Sanuto in *Vite* states that Domenico Bollani refused this commission to Spain, and Niccolo Michiel was elected instead (147); however, note that Bollani is included in the commission for the embassy (SS 29/34r-35r).

Sources

Balla 3/31r; *Barbaro* II/35; *Collegio (commissioni)* reg 1482-95/109v; *Cosenza* 1/637; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/6r, 2/10v; *DBI* 11/289-90; *King* 341-42, 424, 555-56; *Neff* 353; *Stampalia* 15r

Ambassadorial commissions

Castile 1479, *SS* 29/34r-35r; Hungary 1489, *SS* 34/19r-v

Bollani, Domenico (Pollani Bolanus Bollanus)

c 1422-1504

son of Francesco di Domenico and Pantasicea, dau of Francesco Corner; bro of Giovanni
1473 m Caterina, dau of Nicolò Molin, widow of Nicolò Gradenigo, 1497 m dau of
Nicolò Cavalli, widow of Bernardo Loredan; father of Domenico, Francesco, Vincenzo

Ambassadorial posts

Turkey 1483 with Francesco Aurelio*; refused embassy to France 1501

Other posts

savtf 1487; Duke of Candia 1489; avog 1489; duca di Candia 1496;¹⁸ CX 1497; avog
1497; lt in Udine 1498; cons 1500; cap of Cremona 1501-02; savcons 1503

Education/Intellectual interests

graduate in law

had some humanists works dedicated to him

Other information

Balla D'Oro, 1440

Funeral monument; S. Domenico di Castello

¹⁸ There is some confusion as to whether this post was held by Domenico di Francesco or Domenico di Candiano- see *DBI* 11/289, 290-91.

Sources

Balla 2/55v; *Barbaro* II/40; *Cicogna* I/133-34; *Coll* 15/21v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/6r, 2/10v; *DBI* 11/290-91; *Neff* 359; *Sanuto* 2/1130; *SAV* 6/135; *SS* 40/38v; *Stampalia* 172v

Ambassadorial commissions

Turkey 1483, *SS* 30/173r-v

Bonzi, Marino (Bonsi Bonci)

b c 1424¹⁹

son of Paolo di Marino and Altadonna de Donato (m 1427)

1451 m Giovanna, dau of Pietro Pasquale di Marino; father of Giovanni Battista (cap and pod of Rovigo)

Ambassadorial posts

amb/prov to Pier Maria Rossi 1482

Other posts

cap and pod of Justianopolis 1484

Other information

Balla D'Oro 1442

Sources

Balla 2/40r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/53r; *SAV* 6/63r; *SS* 30/164v, 30/170v, 30/175v, 30/178r, 30/160r

Ambassadorial commissions

amb/prov to Pier Maria Rossi 1482, *SS* 30/164v-165v

¹⁹ This birth date has been calculated from the *Balla* 2/40r which states that Marino has 'completed eighteen years' when he was enrolled, meaning that he was born in 1424 or before- this obviously contradicts the date of his parents' marriage (1427).

Bragadin, Andrea (Bragadino)

b c 1424

son of Giacomo di Andrea (pod of Conegliano) and Lucia, dau of Michiel Bragadin (married 1422); bro of Marino and Pietro

1483 m Marina, dau of Filippo Marino di Paolo; father of Francesco, Domenico, Marco

Ambassadorial posts

Cyprus 1472; amb/prov to Pier Maria Rossi 1482, due to go on to Genoa

Other posts

savord 1464; savord 1470; savord 1471; 1483 prov in Ravenna

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1442

Sources

Balla 2/51r; *Collegio* 11/133r, 11/135r; *Collegio (commissioni) reg.* 1482-95/31v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/23r, 2/24r; *Enc It VII*/668; *Ferrara* 15; *Gradenigo* 381r, 251r; *SS* 22/23r, 24/181r, 25/34r, 25/159v, 30/93v, 30/95r, 30/170r, 31/11r, 31/66r; *Lorenzo* 7/11, 7/236; *SS* 30/83r-v; *Stampalia* 39r, 151v; *Treviso* lvi; *Vite* 278

Ambassadorial commissions

Cyprus 1472, *SS* 25/159v; Pier Maria Rossi 1482, *SS* 30/95v

Bragadin, Ludovico (Bragadino)

1432-1503

son of Francesco di Vettore and Elena, dau of Nicolò Molin (m 1430); bro of Antonio and Marco

1455 m Cecilia, dau of Francesco Da Canal di Vitale; father of Andrea, Francesco (held several posts on the *terraferma* including pod of Bresica; served on several diplomatic-military missions), Antonio (pod and cap of Rovigo)

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1485 with **Antonio Loredan, Bernardo Bembo, Pietro Diedo**

Other posts

avog 1482; pod and cap of Treviso 1482; savtf 1484; savtf 1485; savtf 1486; lt in Friuli 1489-90; savcons 1490; cons 1490; savcons 1491; cap of Padua 1492-93; savcons 1494; savcons 1495; savcons 1496; Proc d'Ultra 1497; savcons 1498; duc el 1501; sent with Domenico Morosini to negotiate with papal legate 1503

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1450

Funeral monuments; S.Marina

Sources

Balla 2/52r; *Barbaro* II/131, II/132, II/138; *Collegio* 14/109r, 14/113v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/11r, 2/23v; *DBI* 13/657-59; *Gradenigo* 17v; *SAV* 6/96r; *SS* 32/60r, 32/136r, 32/172r, 32/188r, 34/117r, 35/143v, 36/138r; *Stampalia* 215r

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1485, *SS* 32/146r-47v

Capello, Andrea (Cappella)

miles

c 1444-1493

son of **Vettore di Giorgio** and **Luca di Marco Querini**; bro of **Ludovico** (held many posts in the *terraferma*, including in Chioggia and Bergamo; Duke of Candia), **Paolo**, **Lorenzo**, **Elena**, **Paolina**

1470 m **Marina**, dau of **Marco Barbarigo** (doge) di **Francesco**; father of **Vettore**, **Girolamo** (pod of Bergamo 1537)

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1492-93 with Marco Bevazan* (resident), travelled with Nicolò Michiel who was going to serve as ambassador in Naples (replaced **Girolamo Donato**, replaced by **Paolo Pisani**)

Other posts

was merchant in youth, perhaps in London or Bruges; savord 1473; savtf 1490; was thought to have died of plague

Other information

Balla d'Oro; 1462

Was a merchant in his youth; 1480 opened a private bank in Venice with his bros Ludovico and **Paolo** and with Tommaso Lippomano- for banking career see *Mueller* (see references below)

Funeral monument; S.Elena (?)

Sources

Balla 2/155v; *Barbaro* II/261, II/269; *Cicogna* 3/375-76; *Collegio (lett sec)* 6/95r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/32v, 2/77v; *DBI* 18/736-37, 18/738-40; *Firenze* 24/16r-v; *Gonzaga* 1434 (2/9/1493); *Gradenigo* 17v; *Mueller* 283, 282, 220, 250-51, 283; *Neff* 376; *Sforzesco* 378 (24/2/1492); *SS* 32/122r

Capello, Francesco (Cappella)

c 1460-1513

son of Cristoforo di Francesco and Regina, dau of Lorenzo Loredan; bro of Paolo and Lorenzo

1485 m Elena, dau of **Pietro Priuli** di Lorenzo, 1500 m Isabella, dau of Domenico Sanuto di Leonardo, widow of Francesco Valier di Marco;²⁰ father of Cristoforo (amb to France 1539, miles), Pietro, Carlo (amb to the King of the Romans 1538, miles), Bernardo

²⁰ This is a reference from *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/78r; note that *DBI* states that Capello married Maria Sanuto in 1500.

Ambassadorial posts

Mantua 1490 with **Zaccaria Contarini**, **Giorgio Pisani**, **Girolamo Lion** for wedding of Francesco Gonzaga with Isabella D'Este;²¹ Ferrara and France 1490-91 with **Zaccaria Contarini** for wedding of Beatrice d'Este with Ludovico Moro; France 1492 with **Zaccaria Contarini**, for marriage of Carlo VIII and Anne of Brittany, stopping en route in Milanese and Savoyan courts; Milan and Spain 1495-96 with Marino Giorgio and Nicolò Aurelio; elected amb to Louis XII 1501 with **Domenico Trevisan** and **Girolamo Donato**, but was sent to England instead 1501-02; Emperor 1504-05; England 1512

Other posts

pod and cap of Capodistria 1496; prov in Rimini 1499 with Marcantonio Zambon; pod of Ravenna 1506-07; prov gen in Friuli 1509; amb/prov to Mantua, Ravenna, Bologna 1510 with Girolamo Diedo*; CX 1511

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1479

Sources

Balla 3/92r; *Barbaro* II/274, II/277; *Collegio (commissioni) reg* 1482-95/149r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/32v, 2/77v, 2/78r; *DBI* 18/760-61, 18/775-78; *Gradenigo* 294r, 311v; *Malipiero* 379-80; *Neff* 361, 419-20, 589; *RelazII/v*; *Sanuto* 1/51, 1/335; *SAV6*/63r; *Sforzesco* 377 (17/1/1491); *SS* 39/22v, 34/122v, 35/96v

Ambassadorial commissions

Ferrara 1490, *Collegio (commissioni) reg* 1482-95/149r-v; France 1492, *SS* 35/131r-v; Milan 1495, *SS* 35/115r-116r; France 1501, *SS* 38/178r-180r

Capello, Francesco (Cappella)

c 1418-1471

²¹ *Gradenigo* (314v) notes that Girolamo Lion and Giorgio Pisani accompanied Zaccaria Contarini and Francesco Capello to Mantua, but this is uncorroborated by the primary source material.

son of Albano (amb to Frederick III 1451) di Marco and Comaruola Corner; bro of Marco and Pietro

1445 m Lucrezia, dau of Giovanni Guerozzi, widow of Benedetto Zanchani di Giovanni; father of Giovanni

Ambassadorial posts

Sigismund Pandolfo Malatesta 1448; Rimini 1464; Turkey 1471 with Nicolò Cocco

Other posts

savord 1449; savord 1451; in Milan and Cremona 1463

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1436

Sources

Balla 1/37v; *Barbaro* II/250; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/77r; *DBI* 26/520; *Gradenigo* 239v, 345r; *Malipiero* 67; *Sforzesco* 350 (22/4/1463); *SS* 24/178r; *Stampalia* 48r, 65r, 155r, 172r

Ambassadorial commissions

Rimini 1448, *SS* 18/47r; Rimini 1464, *SS* 22/62r; Turkey 1470, *SS* 24/168v-169v

Capello, Paolo (Cappella)

miles

1452-1532

son of Vettore di Giorgio and Lucia, dau of Marco Querini; bro of Andrea, Ludovico (held many posts in the *terraferma* including in Chioggia and Bergamo; Duke of Candia), Lorenzo, Elena, Paolina

1478 m Elisabetta, dau of Marco Corner di Giorgio; father of Filippo

Ambassadorial posts

Hungary, Bohemia, Poland 1492-95 with Marco Dandolo; Naples 1496, replaced by Marino Giorgio; Rome 1499-1500 with Giovanni Pietro Stella*, after Paolo Trevisan

refused post, replaced by **Girolamo Lion**; Rome 1510 with **Domenico Trevisan**, **Leonardo Mocenigo**, **Paolo Pisani**, **Girolamo Donato**, **Ludovico Malipiero**; refused mission to Rome 1522

Other posts

in Venetian army at battle of Fornovo 1495; visdomino of Ferrara 1501; avog 1501; savtf 1501; savtf, cons, avog 1502-06; cap of Cremona 1506; CX 1508; prov in campo 1509; prov in campo 1510; savcons 1511; prov in campo 1512; CX 1513-32; savcons 1513-32; Proc D'Ultra 1524

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1470

According to *DBI* 18/809, the Capello family had marine and mercantile tradition and possessed property in the *terraferma*, including a villa in Rosà di Bassano and another in Piove Disacco, sold in 1528 for 3,000 ducats.

Funeral monument; Chiesa di Scuola della Carità

Sources

Balla 3/91v; *Barbaro* II/261; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/32v, 2/77v; *DBI* 18/808-12; *Neff* 551; *Sanuto* 1/49, 1/105, 1/143, 1/346, 1/516, 1/576, 1/1090, II/1332; *SS* 34/122v, 37/50v

Ambassadorial commissions

Hungary 1492, *SS* 34/144r; Rome 1499, *SS* 37/106v-107r; Rome 1509, *SS* 42/24v, 42/140v

Capello, Vettore (Cappella)²²

c 1400-1467

son of Giorgio di Giovanni di Marino Dielai and Coronea, dau of Vitale Lando; bro of Albano and Giovanni (Proc SM)

1436 m Lucia dau of Marco Querini di Bertucio; father of **Andrea**, **Lorenzo**, **Paolo**, **Ludovico**, **Elena**, **Paolina**

²² Note that there are some contemporary homonyms for this individual; for instance see *DBI* 18/822

Ambassadorial posts

Morea 1454-55; in obed to Pope Pius II 1458 with **Matteo Vettore, Triadano Gritti, Girolamo Barbarigo**; in obed to Pope Paul II 1464 with **Ludovico Foscarini, Triadano Gritti, Girolamo Barbarigo, Zaccaria Trevisan, Nicolò Soranzo, Pietro Mocenigo, Andrea Lion, Nicolò Tron, Hector Pasquale**

Other posts

was a merchant in his youth; savord 1440-41; cap of 2 galleys 1444; CX 1447; CX 1448; cap of 'Golfo' 1449; cap of Brescia 1450; savtf 1451-52; cons 1452; savtf 1453; prov of Arsenale 1453-54; savtf 1453-54; prov of army at Brescia 1454; CX 1455; cons 1456; gov of Entrate 1459; CX 1461; cap at sea 1462; savcons 1463-64; sent to the East 1463 and best remembered for his activities in war of Morea; cons 1464; cons 1465; CX 1465; cap-gen at sea 1466 with Giovanni Diedo*

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1420

Funeral monument: S. Elena

Sources

Balla 1/38r; *Barbaro* III/255, II/261; *Cicogna* 3/373-5; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/77r; *DBI* 18/822-27; *Dolfin* 439v; *Malipiero* 42; *SS* 22/37r, 23/15r; *Stampalia* 67r, 213v, 214r; *Tiepolo* 214v

Ambassadorial commissions

Morea 1454, *SS* 20/24v; Rome 1458, *SS* 20/164r-165v

Cocco, Nicolò (Chaucho Choco)

1402-1483

son of Francesco di Nicolò and Bianca, dau of Donato Da Lezze (m 1401); bro of Daniel 1433 m Lavantina, dau of Zanettina Vizzamano di Candia,²³ 1441 m Lucia, dau of Benedetto Dolfin, widow of Giacomo Vallaresso; father of Antonio, Daniele, Francesco, Giacomo, Vincenzo, Paola (m wealthy banker Pietro Ciera)

²³ This reference is from *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/93v; *DBI* states that Cocco married Zanettina Vizzamano (26/519)

Ambassadorial posts

Constantinople 1470-71 with Giovanni Dario* and Francesco Capello di Giovanni;
Constantinople 1480-81 with Zaccaria de Freschi*

Other posts

savord 1449; cap of galley to Alexandria 1466; rector of Canea 1467; cap of Candia 1472;
viceduca of Candia 1474; cap CX 1477; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; cap of Bergamo
1478; savtf 1481; avog 1482; cons 1482

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1427

Sources

Balla 1/40r; *Barbaro* II/360; *Collegio* 11/82r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/37r, 2/93v;
CXMiste 19/157r, 20/209v; *DBI* 26/519-520; *Magg* 23/114; *Malipiero* 67; *Neff* 416, 443;
SAV4/145r; *SS* 18/140r, 24/178r, 29/144r, 30/45r, 30/83r, 29/100r-102v; *Stampalia* 172r

Ambassadorial commissions

Turkey 1470, *SS* 24/168v-169r

Contarini, Ambrogio (Contareno Contarionus)

b 1429-d 1496-99

son of Benedetto (prov and cap of Ravenna 1440) di Luca and Giustina, dau of Andrea
Giustiniani; bro of Girolamo and Agostino; cousin of **Francesco Contarini**

1479 m Margherita Crispo, dau of Francesco Crispo, widow of Marco Querini; father of
Benedetto

Ambassadorial posts

Persia 1474-77, where met **Giosafat Barbaro**

Other posts

merchant in youth, involved in the defence of Constantinople in 1453, taken prisoner with
other Venetian merchants but escaped and got back to Venice in 1464; commander of
galley and participated in war against the Turks 1470; cons to Queen Caterina of Cyprus

1480; pod of Vicenza 1482-83; Patrono dell'Arsenale 1484; console in Alexandria 1490-91; prov in Nauplia 1493; cons to It in Cyprus 1496

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1447

Sources

Balla 2/131r; *Barbaro* II/453; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/28r, 2/61v; *DBI* 28/97-100; *Donazzolo* 50-52; *Enc It* XII/228; *Gradenigo* 252v, 255r; *Hakluyt* 107-71; *IBI* 2/460; *Stampalia* 153r

Ambassadorial commissions

Persia 1474, *SS* 26/76v

Contarini, Antonio (Contareno Contarienus)²⁴

fl 1477

Ambassadorial posts

Bologna 1477

Sources

SS 28/120r

Ambassadorial commissions

Bologna 1477, *SS* 28/120r

Contarini, Bertucio (Contareno Contarienus)

fl 1420-1485

son of Marino di Bertucio; bro of Nicolò, Leonardo (Proc SM and cap at Padua), Antonio 1431 m Brigida, dau of Fantin Morosini di Giovanni

²⁴ Please note that there are a number of contemporary homonyms for Antonio Contarini- for example, Antonio di Andrea (see *Barbaro* 11/464), Antonio di Donato (*Barbaro* 11/468), Antonio di Niccolo (*Barbaro* 11/490); Contarini's father is not noted in *SS*, which makes this individual impossible to identify.

Ambassadorial posts

Sigismondo Malatesta 1463

Other posts

consul in Naples 1456; savcons 1469; pod of Brescia 1471-73; captain of Padua 1474; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; Proc d'Ultra 1485

Sources

Barbaro II/427, II/511; Brescia li; Cronaca Matrimonia 2/57v; Gradenigo 376r; Padua xlix; SAV6/93r; SS 21/166v, 21/175v

Ambassadorial commissions

Rimini 1463, *SS* 21/175v

Contarini, Francesco (Contareno Contarinius)

miles doctor

1421-c 1460²⁵

son of Nicolò (amb to Duke of Savoy) di Luca and Maria, dau of Giacomo da Carrara, Signor of Padua; cousin of **Ambrogio Contarini**

1446 m Contarina, dau of Giovanni Contarini; father of **Zaccaria**, Nicolò

Ambassadorial posts

Bologna 1451-52; Siena 1453-55²⁶; Rome 1460

Other posts

savtf 1454; savtf 1455; savtf 1456; savtf 1457; savtf 1458, savtf 1459; savtf 1460

Education/Intellectual interests

education with Paolo della Pergola and George of Trebizond, doctor in arts 1442, in law 1453; taught philosophy 1458

²⁵ Note that *DBI* gives Contarini's death date as 1475 (11/161).

²⁶ *King* (350-51) and Segarizzi, 'Francesco Contarini, politico e letterato' (275) states that Contarini was ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Pius II in 1458, but note that he is not mentioned in the commission (see *SS* 20/164r-165v).

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Dialogus*; *Epithalamion in nuptiis Ludovici Draconis veneti* (1440); *Oratio in conventu Iordani de Ursinis*; *Oratio habita in suo conventu* (1453); *Proemium indisputatione de philosophia* (1438); *De rebus in Hetruria In Senensibus gestis* (1439); *Novella di Tedaldino e Monna Rosa*

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1441

Dispatches; Francesco Contarini; Registro delle lettere scritte al Senato quando era ambasciatore a Siena 1454-55 (Marciana, It VII Cod. 1196- 8884)

Sources

Balla 2/128r; *Barbaro* II/454, II/453; *Cochrane* 79-80; *Collegio* 9/153; *Cosenza* 2/1082; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/26r, 2/58v, 2/56r; *DBI* 28/160-61; *King* 350-51

Ambassadorial commissions

Bologna 1451, *SS* 19/96v-97r; Siena 1454, *SS* 20/10r-v

Secondary sources

A. Segarizzi, 'Francesco Contarini, politico e letterato Veneziano del secolo XV', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n.s. anno 6, tomo 12 (1906), pp. 272-306

Contarini, Francesco (Contareno Contarinius)

c 1430- 1477

son of Paolo (cap of Ravenna) di Lorenzo; bro of Domenico, Bartolomeo, Lorenzo
1451 m Lucia, dau of Giovanni Perduzzi; father of Girolamo, Ludovico, Giovanni

Ambassadorial posts

Albania 1477

Other posts

visdomino Ferrara 1472

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1448

Sources

Balla 2/131v; *Barbaro III*/513; *Coll* 12/60v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/59r; *Gradenigo* 321r; *SAV6* 17v; *SS* 28/15r, 28/19v; *Stampalia* 66v; *Treviso* liv

Contarini, Giorgio (Contareno Contarionus)

count of Zaffa

b c 1445

son of Tomaso (miles) di Pietro and Isabetta, dau of Giorgio Corner di Andrea (m 1435);
bro of Antonio, Tomaso, Leonardo, Paolo, nephew of **Marco Corner**, cousin of Queen
Caterina of Cyprus

1484 m Isabella, dau of Nicolò Contarini di Pietro; father of Tomaso, Anzolo, Giustiniani
(cap and pod of Brescia and Padua), Giulio (Proc d'Ultra)

Ambassadorial posts

King of the Romans I 1492 with Giorgio Federici*, Andrea di Franceschi* and **Paolo
Pisani**

Other information

Balla D'Oro: 19/4/1463

Sources

Arbel 74, appendix; *Balla* 2/138r; *Barbaro II*/515; *Collegio* 14/161r; *Cronaca
Matrimonia* 2/62v; *Franceschi*; *Gradenigo* 102v; *Neff* 427, 431, 443; *RelazII*/ii; *SS*
34/122v

Contarini, Girolamo (Contareno Contarionus)

c 1424-1488

son of Stefano (cap of galleys, cap of Verona, Proc SM) di Nicolò and Maria, dau of
Pietro Gradenigo (m 1415); bro of Nicolò and Francesco

1446 m Francesca, dau of Giorgio Soranzo; father of Nicolò, Stefano, Nadal, Giovannifrancesco, Giorgio

Ambassadorial posts

Sigismund of Austria 1478 with Zaccaria de Freschi*

Other posts

It in Friuli 1484

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1442

Sources

Balla 2/128v; *Barbaro II*/486; *Collegio (commissioni) reg.* 1482-95/188r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/58r-v; *Friuli* lix; *Neff* 443; *SAV*6/51v

Contarini, Maffeo (Contareno Contarienenus)

b c 1412

son of Nicolò di Antonio (Antonio was amb to Pope Alessandro V in 1409) and Taddea, dau of Francesco Marcello (m 1410); nephew of Andrea (1468 accompanied Emp Frederick III to Padua) and Giacomo (amb to Spain 1496)

1436 m Suordamor, dau of Leonardo Contarini; father of Nicolò

Ambassadorial posts

Modena 1454

Other posts

cap of Vicenza 1451; savtf 1454; savtf 1457; savtf 1461; savtf 1462; cap of Bergamo 1463; cons 1473; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; cons 1476; cons 1480; pod of Padua 1481

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1430

Sources

Balla 2/122r; *Barbaro* II/437, II/463; *Bergamo* xxxix; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/58r; *CXMiste* 18/56v, 18/212v, 19/56r, 20/42v; *Ferrara* 106; *Padua* xlix; *SS* 20/30v, 20/132v, 21/29r, 21/83v; *Vicenza* xxxvii

Contarini, Pandolfo (Contareno Contarinius)²⁷

1413-c 1464

son of Marino (pod and cap of Naples) di Alessandro and Francesca , dau of Caterino Greci

1439 m Laura, dau of Bertucio Dolfín; father of Francesco, Bertucio, Andrea, Alessandro, Fantino, Ludovico, Marino, Contarina, Crispina

Ambassadorial posts

Siena 1451; Giovanni IV Paleologo, Marquis of Monferrato 1452-53; Siena 1455

Other posts

merchant in youth- in Constantinople in 1438; castellan of Padua 1449; sent to meet Emperor Frederick III 1452

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1438

Will dated 15/5/1464

Funeral monument; SS Giovanni and Paolo

Sources

Ambrosiana (28/9/1464); *Balla* 2/125v; *Barbaro* II/514; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/25v, 2/58r, 2/55r; *DBI* 28/257-58; *Gradenigo* 75r; *Notarile Testamenti*, 385/178; *Sforzesco* 340 (17/5/1453)

Ambassadorial commissions

Siena 1455, *SS* 20/68v

²⁷ For contemporary homonyms see for instance *DBI* 28/257.

Contarini, Zaccaria (Contareno Contarinius)

miles

1452-1513

son of **Francesco di Nicolò** and **Contarina**, dau of **Giovanni Contarini**; bro of **Nicolò**; related to **Ambrogio Contarini**

1475 m **Alba**, dau of **Antonio Donato di Giacomo (ramo dalle Rose)**; father of **Francesco** (amb to Emperor Charles V), **Marco**, **Filippo**, **Paolo**, **Pietro** (archbishop of Zara)

Ambassadorial posts

Mantua 1490 with **Francesco Capello di Cristoforo**, **Giorgio Pisani**, **Girolamo Lion** for marriage of **Francesco Gonzaga** with **Isabella D'Este**,²⁸ Ferrara and France 1490-1491 with **Francesco Capello di Cristoforo** for wedding of **Beatrice D'Este** with **Ludovico Moro**; France 1492 with **Francesco Capello di Cristoforo**, for marriage of **Carlo VIII** and **Anne of Bretagne**, stopping en route in Milanese and Savoyan courts; Ferrara with **Giorgio Pisani** 1493;²⁹ King of the Romans 1493-94/**Ludovico il Moro** with **Marco di Santi*** and **Girolamo Lion**; Maximilian of Habsburg 1495-96 with **Giovan Pietro Stella*** and **Benedetto Trevisan**; refused mission to Hungary 1500; Maximilian I 1501-02 (resident); Maximilian I 1508

Other posts

pod and cap of **Rovigo** 1499; savtf 1503-04; savtf 1505; CX 1505-07; savtf 1506; cap of **Cremona** 1508-09, imprisoned after **Agnadello**

Education/Intellectual interests

studied at **Padua** 1475

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1475

Noted as very wealthy- his wife **Alba** brought a dowry of 5000 ducats (*DBI* 28/325)

Dispatches; **Zaccaria Contarini** and **Girolamo Lion**, Registro delle lettere scritte al Senato nel tempo della loro ambasciata a **Massimiliano** 1493-94 (*Marciana*, It VII Cod. 1044-

²⁸ *Gradenigo* (314v) states that **Girolamo Lion** and **Giorgio Pisani** accompanied **Zaccaria Contarini** and **Francesco Capello** to Mantua, but this is uncorroborated by the primary source material.

9608); some of his dispatches from Germany are also printed in 'Dispacci al Senato Veneto di Francesco Foscari ed di altri oratori presso l'imperatore Massimiliano I nel 1496', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. 7 (1844), pp. 725-746 and in *Calendar* 641, 643-45, 647, 649-53, 655-57, 668-69, 671-72; 677, 681, 683-85, 690, 692, 639, 696-703, 706

Sources

Balla 3/70r; *Barbaro* II/454; *Calendar* (see above); *Collegio* 14/95r; *Collegio (commissioni)* reg. 1482-95/149r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/27r, 2/61r; *DBI* 28/325-28; *Gradenigo* 311v, 76v, 108v; *Magg* 24/193v; *Neff* 540; *RelazII*/ii and vii; *Sforzesco* 377(17/1/1491); *SS* 34/122r, 34/173v, 34/211r, 35/96v; 38/98v, 38/100r, 41/108r; *Stampalia* 89r, 94v, 194r

Ambassadorial commissions

Ferrara 1491, *Collegio (commissioni)* reg 1482-95/149r-v; France 1492, *SS* 34/131r-v; Ferrara 1493, *Collegio (commissioni)* reg 1482-95/180r; Maximilian 1493, *SS* 34/211r; Maximilian 1495, *SS* 35/110v-111r; Emperor 1501, *SS* 38/168v-169v

Corner, Federico (Cornario)³⁰

1415-1504

son of Francesco di Federico and Altadonna, dau of Giovanni Zane; bro of Andrea

1444 m Maria, dau of Leonardo Contarini di Pietro,³¹ 1484 m Maria, dau of Antonio Contarini, widow of Giovanni Francesco Bragadin; father of Caterina (m Nicolò Foscari)

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1472-73; papal legate, Cesena 1484 with **Zaccaria Barbaro**

Other posts

savtf 1467; pod of Vicenza 1468; cons 1470; pod and cap of Crema 1470-71; savtf 1473; duc el Nicolò Marcello; avog 1474; pod of Verona 1476-78; savcons 1478; rector of Padua 1478; cons 1478; pod of Padua 1479-81; savcons 1481; prov in campo 1483; duc el

²⁹ *Stampalia* (94v) notes that Contarini and Paolo Pisani were ambassadors to Milan in 1494

³⁰ For one contemporary homonym see *King* 353-54

Marco Barbarigo 1485; Proc d'Ultra 1485; prov to Roberto Malatesta with Giacomo da Lezze 1485;³² duc el Agostino Barbarigo 1486

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1433

According to *DBI* 28/181, the family possessed great wealth and property in the *terraferma*.

Will dated 9/9/1486

Sources

Balla 2/141r; *Barbaro* III/9, III/15; *Capi F.*1/7, 30; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/34v, 1/35v, 2/72r, 2/73r; *DBI* 29/181-83; *Gradenigo* 387v; *Notarile Testamenti* 86/1511 (Ruzzo); *Padua* xlix; *SS* 23/57r; *Stampalia* 7v, 21v, 35r, 52r, 215r

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1472, *SS* 25/108r; Cesena 1484, *SS* 32/29r

Corner, Marco (Cornario)

miles

1406-1479

son of Giorgio di Andrea; and Caterina, dau of Giustiniano Giustiniani; bro of Andrea; great grandson of Doge Marco Corner, uncle of **Giorgio Contarini**

1444 m Fiorenza, dau of Nicolò Crispo, Signor d'Archipelago; father of Caterina (Queen of Cyprus), Luca, Giorgio (amb to Maximilian 1501), Elisabetta (m **Paolo Capello**), Lucia (m **Marco Dandolo**)

Ambassadorial posts

Bartolomeo Colleoni, Romagna 1467; Duke of Modena 1470; amb in obed to Sixtus IV 1471 with **Bernardo Giustiniani**, **Andrea Lion**, **Triadano Gritti**

³¹ *DBI* 28/181 gives the first wife of Federico as Caterina; *Cronaca Matrimonia* (1/34v) gives wife as Maria, di Leonardo.

³² *Stampalia* (7v and 3r) refers to this as an ambassadorial post

Other posts

Was merchant in his youth in the Levant; sent to meet Emperor Frederick III 1452; savtf 1454; savtf 1455; savtf 1456; cons 1456; exiled from Venice for two years for not denouncing his brother Andrea- went to Cyprus and returned to Venice 1464; savtf 1465; cons 1466; savcons 1466; savcons 1467; prov in Lombardy 1467; savcons 1469; savcons 1470; cons 1470; prov in Lombardy 1470; cons 1472-73; savcons 1472-73; 1474 sent to Cyprus to collaborate with Venetian prov; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1424

According to *DBI* 28/251, Corner's marriage to Fiorenza Crispo was very prestigious; Corner possessed great riches from his mercantile career in the Levant, as well as owning land in Cyprus (*DBI* 28/252).

Funeral monument; SS Apostoli

Sources

Arbel, appendix 71-75; *Balla* 1/143v; *Barbaro III*/33; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/34v, 2/72r; *DBI* 29/251-54; *Malipiero* 596-612 (for his activities in Cyprus); *Sforzesco* 356 (14/9/1470); *SS* 23/102r, 26/162r; *Stampalia* 7r

Ambassadorial commissions

Bartolomeo Colleoni 1467, *SS* 23/177r; Rome 1471, *SS* 25/80r-84r

Correr, Fillipo (Corrario)

1414-c 1471-5

son of Paolo (Proc SM, amb to Milan 1425, held many posts in the *terraferma*) di Filippo (Castello branch) and Daria, dau of Filippo Emo di Maffeo

1434 m Elisabetta, dau of Giovanni Molin di Antonio; father of Paolo, Giacomo, Elisabetta, Maria (m Girolamo Molin), Ginevra (m Gentile Contarini), Daria (m Zaccaria Barbarigo)

Ambassadorial posts

Sultan of Egypt 1454; Sultan of Babylon 1465; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1468; Naples 1469-1470, in April 1470 ignored the specific instructions of the Senate and signed treaty with King Ferdinand; was ordered to leave Naples immediately and was replaced by **Bernardo Giustiniani**; in Venice was tried and condemned to 6 months in prison, excluded from certain offices and forbidden to ever serve on another embassy abroad.

Other posts

pod and cap of Ravenna 1466-67; cons 1468; savtf 1469

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1432

Funeral monument; family tomb in S Pietro di Castello

Sources

Balla 1/41v; *Barbaro* III/141; *Collegio* 11/49v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/36v, 2/81r; *DBI* 29/490-93, 29/503-506; *Gradenigo* 193r, 210v; *Lorenzo* 1/45-46, 1/103, 1/108, 1/119; *Magg Cons* 23/87v; *SS* 23/91v, 24/38v; *Stampalia* 7r, 132r

Ambassadorial commissions

Babylon 1465, *SS* 22/95r-97r; Naples 1469, *SS* 24/39r-v

Da Canal, Ludovico (Canal Canalis)³³

fl 1465-1468

Ambassadorial posts

Albania 1465;³⁴ Faenza 1468

³³ Note that there are several contemporary homonyms for Ludovico Da Canal in the second half of the fifteenth century, and the one holding these diplomatic posts has not been identified due to lack of patronymic in primary material- for example, Ludovico di Bartolomeo (*Barbaro* II/213) and Ludovico di Giorgio (*Barbaro* II/221).

³⁴ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (321r)

Sources

Collegio 11/34v; *Gradenigo* 321r; *Stampalia* 66r

Da Canal, Nicolò (Canale Canalis)

doctor

1415-1483

son of Vito di Giacomo and Bianca Muazzo; bro of Bartolomeo, Natal, Marino, Francesco. Maria (mother of **Antonio Donato**)

1438 m Orsa, dau of Giorgio Soranzo di Gabriel; father of Giacomo, Giovanni, Pietro, Vincenzo, Girolamo, Paola

Ambassadorial posts

Ferrara 1442; Francesco Sforza 1443; Florence and Perugia 1444; Portugal 1445; Florence 1448; Florence 1449; Rome 1449-50; Morea 1450; Constantinople 1450 with Giovanni Dario*; amb/prov Bartolomeo Colleoni 1451 with **Antonio Dandolo**; Diet of Ratisbon 1454 with **Zaccaria Trevisan**; Milan 1454 with **Paolo Barbo**; Turkey 1460 after Paolo Morosini refused the post; Duke of Milan 1462; France 1463-64; Rome 1465; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1468³⁵

Other posts

savtf 1444; savtf 1445; savtf 1446; CX 1446; savtf 1447; savtf 1448; CX 1448; CX 1449; savtf 1449; savtf 1450; savtf 1451; prov in campo 1451; cap of Brescia 1451-53; savtf 1453-54; CX 1454; cap of Bergamo 1455-57; cap of Brescia 1458; savtf 1460; savtf 1461; savtf 1462; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; prov in Morea 1463; savtf 1464; CX 1465; avog 1466; savcons 1466; prov in Negropont 1467-68; cons 1468; amb/prov to meet Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg at Padua on his journey to Rome 1468; savcons 1468; cap-gen and Admiral of Aegean Fleet 1469-70 with Ludovico Sagundino*; condemned for failure to save Negroponte 1470- confined to Portgruaro, where he died

Education/Intellectual interests

doctor of arts in Padua (1434), later student of law, doctor in laws 1439

³⁵ *Stampalia* (198r) states that Nicolò da Canal was sent as ambassador to the Emperor in 1480; this embassy has been excluded, however, because Da Canal was in exile from 1470.

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Epistola ad cardinales* (9 June 1470)

Letters: correspondents include Francesco Barbaro, **Ludovico Foscari**

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1433

Sources

Balla 1/50v; *Barbaro* III/211, III/217; *Calendar* 431; *Collegio* 8/129r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/83v; *CXMiste* 14/48r; *DBI* 17/662-68; *Dolfin* 439v; *Donazzolo* 34; *Enc It VII*/659; *IBI* 1/343; *King* 347-48; *Magg* 22/177v, 23/65r; *Neff* 416, 531; *SS* 23/117r, 23/119r; *Stampalia* 161v, 214r; *Tiepolo* 214v

Ambassadorial commissions

Francesco Sforza 1443, *SS* 15/157v; Rome 1449, *SS* 18/131v; Constantinople 1450 *SS* 18/208v-209r; cap-gen 1451, *SS* 19/46v; Diet of Ratisbon, *SS* 20/20r; Milan 1454, *SS* 20/39v; Turkey 1460, *Magg* 23/32v; France 1463, *SS* 21/212r; Rome 1465, *SS* 22/79v-80r; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1468, *SS* 23/120

Da Mosto, Ludovico (Alvise)

1432-c 1483

son of Giovanni di Paolo and Giovanna, dau of Maffeo Querini di Paolo (m 1428)

1465 m dau of Giovanni Contarini; father of Bartolomeo, Girolamo, Francesco, Vincenzo³⁶

Ambassadorial posts

Albania 1474

Other posts

was a merchant in youth; in Africa 1454-early 1460s; prov in Corone 1476; cap of galleys 1481; prov at Biave 1482-83

³⁶ Note that A. Da Mosto in 'Il navigatore Alvise da Mosto e la sua famiglia', *Archivio Veneto*, 5th series, vol. 2 (1927), p. 192 gives wife of Ludovico as Elizabeth Venier, daughter of Giorgio, stating that they married in 1466.

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1451

For documents pertaining to Da Mosto see A. Da Mosto, 'Il navigatore Alvise da Mosto e la sua famiglia', *Archivio Veneto*, 5th series, col. 2 (1927), pp. 168-260; For his atlantic travels, see T. Gasparrini Leporace (ed.), *Le Navigazioni Atlantiche del Veneziano Alvise da Mosto* (Roma 1966)

Sources

Balla 2/212v; *Barbaro* VI/393; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/242r, 2/241; *Donazzolo* 36-37; *Gradenigo* 321r; *Stampalia* 66v

Dandolo, Antonio (Dandulo Dandulus)

doctor

1431-c 1473³⁷

son of Andrea (amb to Cairo 1441, Bologna 1447, Florence 1447-48, Mantua 1448, Ferrara 1450) di Giacomo (branch of S. Maria Zobenigno) and Maria, dau of Antonio Michiel; bro of Giacomo and Girolamo

1456 m Lucrezia, dau of **Giovanni Mocenigo** di Leonardo; father of Francesco (m Caterina Frangipane, dau of Giovanni Signor of Segna and Veglia), Lorenzo, Andrea, Antonio (bishop of Vicenza and Padua), Laura, Andriana, Dandala, Elisabetta

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Burgundy 1467-68; Milan and Savoy 1468; Burgundy 1468-69

Other posts

savtf 1471; pod and cap of Ravenna 1471-73, where he died

Education/Intellectual interests

studied at Padua; graduated at a very young age in civil and canon law

Other information

Balla D'Oro: 1451

³⁷ Note that *Barbaro* (III/188) gives Dandolo's death date as 1501

Will dated 24/3/1473

Funeral monument; SS Giovanni e Paolo

Sources

Balla 2/189v; *Barbaro III*/188; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/47v; *DBI* 32/443-445; *Gradenigo* 292v; *Notarile Testamenti* 1240/25; *Stampalia* 51r, 102r

Ambassadorial commissions

Burgundy 1467, *SS* 23/80r; Savoy 1468, *SS* 23/134v

Dandolo, Marco (Dandulo Dandulus)

miles doctor

1458-1535

son of Andrea (prov in army in war against the Turks) di Benedetto and Orsa, dau of **Bernardo Giustiniani** di Leonardo; brother of Bernardo, Benedetto, Leonardo

1485 m Lucia, dau of **Marco Corner** di Giorgio, sister of Queen Caterina of Cyprus, 1491 m Nicolosa, dau of Pietro Loredan di Lorenzo, 1521 m sister of Gasparo Contarini; father of Maffeo (amb to France 1547, amb to Pope Paul II 1549; m sister of Gasparo Contarini 1521) and 4 daus including Zilia (m doge Lorenzo Priuli)

Ambassadorial posts

Poland, Bohemia and Hungary 1492-95 with **Paolo Capello**; Milan 1496-97 (attended conference of Vigevano 1496) in place of **Girolamo Lion**; refused mission to France 1500; refused mission to Pope Alexander 1501; Louis XII, King of France 1502-04; Naples 1506-07 with **Giorgio Pisani**; Francis I, King of France 1513-15; in obed to Pope Adrian VI 1522-23; in obed to Pope Clement VII 1523 (elected but never sent); Pope Clement VII and Emperor Charles V of Habsburg, Bologna 1530; Frederick II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua 1531

Other posts

savtf 1501; savtf 1504; savtf 1505; savtf 1506; avog 1506; savtf 1507-08; cap of Brescia 1508-09; captured and brought to France where imprisoned 1509; released from prison 1513; cap of Candia 1515-19; duc el Antonio Grimani 1521; savcons 1523; duc el Andrea

Gritti 1523; cons 1524-25; savtf 1528; savcons 1528; savcons 1529; cons 1530-31; savcons 1531

Education/Intellectual interests

educated with Battista Guarini and Giorgio Merula; studied arts and laws at Padua (present from 1471 to 1489); doctor in philosophy 1481

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Praeconium sanctissime crucis*

Dispatches: some of Dandolo's letters are recorded in 'Dispacci al Senato Veneto di Francesco Foscari ed di altri oratori presso l'imperatore Massimiliano I nel 1496', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. 7/2 (1844), pp. 763-776, 777-786

Letters: correspondents include **Girolamo Donato** and **Ermolao Barbaro**

Other information

Balla d'Oro; 1476

King (359) notes that Dandolo's first wife brought at dowry of 4,500 ducats; his third marriage brought a dowry of 8,000 ducats; also owned a palace on the Grand Canal at S. Moisè (*DBI* 32/487)

Funeral monument; S. Moisè

Sources

Balla 3/108r; *Barbaro* III/197, III/176; *Cosenza* 2/1179; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/47r, 2/100v; *CXMiste* 27/70v, 76r; *DBI* 32/487-92; *Donazzolo* 89-90; *Gradenigo* 196r; *King* 359-61, *Sanuto* 1/17; *SS* 34/122v; *Stampalia* 95r

Ambassadorial commissions

Hungary 1492, *SS* 34/144r-v; Naples 1506, *SS* 40/215r

Diedo, Francesco (Diedus)

doctor

c 1435-1484

son of Ludovico (pod of Vicenza 1456; cap of galleys in France 1459) di Marco (ramo di SS Apostoli) and Creusa, dau of Giovanni Boldù; bro of Pietro, Vettore, Girolamo (bishop), Marco, Giovanni (cap of Bergamo; prov in Romagna), Domenico (sopracomito) 1465 m Elena, dau of Antonio Erizzo; father of Pietro and Luigi

Ambassadorial posts

Austria 1464-5; Hungary 1467-68 replaced **Francesco Venier**; Savoy 1469-70; Urbino 1472; Milan 1479-80 after refusal of Francesco Priuli and **Giacomo da Mezzo**; Rome 1481-83 after he and **Giovanni Emo** had initially refused post, stopped in Ferrara en route, replaced **Zaccaria Barbaro**.³⁸

Other posts

cap of Vicenza 1470-71; CX 1472; savtf 1472; pod and cap of Ravenna 1473-74; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; savtf 1474; CX 1474-75; cap of Bergamo 1475; prov to Malpaga 1476 on death of Bartolomeo Colleoni with **Candiano Bollani** and **Zaccaria Barbaro**; savtf 1477; cap of Brescia 1478-79; savcons 1480; CX 1480-81; savcons 1481; pod of Verona 1483-84

Education/Intellectual interests

studied humanities with Ognibene Leonicensi; arts and law at Padua with Angelo Ubaldi noted by King as humanist

Works: *Defensio pro re publica Veneta* to Pope Sixtus IV 1481; *In Franciscum Barocium invectiva* 1458; *[Oratio] in adventu Frederici [sic] Caesaris Tertii* (1468); *Oratio de laudibus Bartholomaei Paierini*; *Proemium in quibusdam legibus a juristarum collegio conditum*; *Vita Sancti Rochi* (1478 or 1479)

Letters: correspondents include Ludovico Nogarola and **Ludovico Foscari**

Other information

Funeral monument; SS Giovanni e Paolo

³⁸ *Gradenigo* (p 143r) notes that a Francesco Diedo di Marco went on an embassy to Spain in 1473; *Barbaro* (III/216) attributes the same mission to Francesco Diedo di Ludovico. There is no mention of Francesco Diedo di Marco serving on an embassy to Spain in this period in the primary material and it has therefore been excluded from the database.

Sources

Barbaro III/216; Cosenza 2/1231; Cronaca Matrimonia 1/46r, 2/103r; DBI 39/769-774; King 361-62; Lorenzo 4/221, 4/239, 4/254, 5/42, 5/265, 6/117, 6/278, 7/215; Malipiero 43; Sforzesco 389 (23/9/1479), 364 (3/11/1475), SS 23/56r, 23/79r, 24/54r, 30/62r-v, 30/64r-v, 30/66r-v (see vol. 30 in general for mission to Rome 1481-83); Stampalia 227v

Ambassadorial commissions

Hungary 1467, SS 23/56r; Savoy 1469 SS 24/54r-v; Urbino 1472, SS 25/154r; Rome 1481, SS 30/25v-26v

Secondary sources

G. Tournay, 'Francesco Diedo, Venetian Humanist and Politician of the Quattrocentro' *Humanista Lovanienia*, vol. 19 (1970), pp.201-234

Diedo, Pietro (Diedus)³⁹

miles

1429-1490

son of Nicolò (cap of Scutari 1451) di Bernardo (ramo S. Agostino) and Orsa, dau of Giovanni Mantiner da Modena

1455 m Elena, dau of Benedetto Gritti di Homobon and Bianca Pisani; father of Nicolò and Orsa

Ambassadorial posts

Hungary 1478-79; Bologna 1482; in obed to Pope Innocent VIII 1485 with **Ludovico Bragadin, Bernardo Bembo, Antonio Loredan**, replaced as amb to Rome by Nicolò Michiel; refused post to Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg 1486;⁴⁰ Rome 1486 (elected but never sent); Cairo 1489-90 with Giovanni Borghi* and Ludovico de'Piero*, died in Cairo in February⁴¹

³⁹ For details about homonyms see *DBI* 39/778

⁴⁰ *Stampalia* (134r) notes that Diedo was ambassador to the King of the Romans in 1486 with Sebastiano Badoer- note that Badoer is in Rome in this year; according to *DBI* 39/780, Diedo refused this post.

⁴¹ *Stampalia* (122v) notes that Diedo was ambassador to Cairo in 1479- this embassy has been excluded as no reference to it has been found to it, and it may refer to his mission of 1489.

Other posts

pod and cap of Bassano 1469; bailo Cyprus 1471; cons to Caterina of Cyprus 1475; prov 1480; savtf 1482; pod in Bergamo 1483; savtf 1484; savcons 1484; avog 1485; cons 1485; savcons 1485; duc el Marco Barbarigo 1485; duc el Agostino Barbarigo 1486; cons 1486; savcons 1486; cap of Verona 1487; prov 1487; savcons 1489; cons 1489

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1450

Dispacci: ASV, Senato, Archivi Propri, Egitto, F. 1 (1489-90), published in F. Rossi (ed.) *Ambasciata Straordinaria al Sultano d'Egitto (1489-90)* (Venezia 1988)

Sources

Balla 2/207v; *Barbaro* III/211, III/215; *Collegio* 13/110r, 14/6r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/46r, 2/103v; *DBI* 39/778-81; *Gradenigo* 251r; *Lorenzo* 7/277; *Magg* 24/56v; *Neff* 376, 389, 504; *Sforzesco* 375 (17/4/1490); *Stampalia* 50v, 122v, 134r, 215r

Ambassadorial commissions

Hungary 1478, *SS* 28/143r-144r; Bologna 1482, *SS* 30/94v; Rome 1485, *SS* 32/146r-147v; Cairo 1489, *SS* 34/45r

Dolfin, Paolo (Delfinus)

fl 1460-1483

son of Pietro di Bianco and Francesca, dau of Vettore Soranzo di Giovanni (m 1429); bro of Nicolò, Ludovico, Domenico, Girolamo, Bertucio, Giacomo, Marcantonio
1474 m Bernarba, dau of Cristoforo Gabriel di Andrea di Giovanni

Ambassadorial posts

Genoa 1483 (elected)

Other posts

savord 1480; savord 1481

Sources

Barbaro III/279; Cronaca Matrimonia 2/114r, 113v; SS 29/147r, 29/173r

Donato, Antonio (Donado Dona Donati)

miles

c 1422-1481

son of Andrea (ramo dalle Rose) di Bartolomeo and Maria, dau of Vitale Da Canal di Giacomo, sister of Nicolò Da Canal;⁴² bro of Elisabetta, Volante, Girolamo, Ludovico, Lucia, Giovanni Francesco

1450 m Lucia di Bernardo di Ludovico Balbi; father of **Girolamo**, Andrea (pod of Verona and cap of Famagosta), Elena, Maria, Bernardo, Marina, Bartolomeo (prov), Agostino, Marco

Ambassadorial posts

France 1469-70; Ferrara 1471; Rome 1473-74, stopped en route in Florence; Constantinople 1475 with Giovanni Borghi*;⁴³ Rome 1475-76; Milan 1478-79; Florence and Ravenna 1479

Other posts

pod and cap of Capodistria 1470; savtf 1474-75; CX 1475; avog 1476-78; savtf 1478; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; prov with the army 1479; savcons 1479; savcons 1480; pod of Verona 1480-81

Education/Intellectual interests

studied law at Padua

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Vitae ducum venetorum* (c 1473)

Letters: from **Leonardo Sanuto**

⁴² *DBI* gives Antonio's mother as Camilla, dau of Francesco Foscari. However, according to *Balla* (2/192v) his mother was Maria di Da Canal. Furthermore, *Cronaca Matrimonia* (2/106v-107r) notes that Andrea Donato married Maria, dau of Vitale Da Canal in 1414, and that he only married Camilla in 1432, the dau of Francesco Foscari. As Antonio must have been born well before 1432, I have assumed that Maria Da Canal was Antonio's mother.

⁴³ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Neff*, p 389

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1440

Funeral monument; S Maria De' Servi

Sources

Balla 2/192v; *Barbaro III*/341; *Capi F.*1/295; *Cicogna* 1/42; *Cosenza* 2/1252; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/49v, 2/106v, 2/107v; *Davis* 14, 19; *DBI* 40/709-11; *King* 365-66; *Lorenzo* 1/141, 1/473, 2/12, 2/140, 2/507, 3/196, 3/199, 3/359-60, 4/259-60, 4/3, 4/188, 4/220-21, 4/243; *Magg* 23/137v; *Neff* 389; *Stampalia* 10r

Ambassadorial commissions

France 1469, *SS* 24/80r-81v; Ferrara 1471, *SS* 25/36r; Rome 1473, *SS* 26/21v-22v; Milan 1478, *SS* 28/144v-145v; Florence 1479, *SS* 29/48v-50r

Donato, Franceso (Donado Dona Donati)⁴⁴

fl 1476

Ambassadorial posts

France 1476

Sources

Lorenzo 2/230, 2/291; *SS* 27/102r

Donato, Girolamo (Donado Dona Donati)⁴⁵

doctor

c 1456-1511

son of **Antonio** (ramo dalle Rose) di Andrea and Lucia, dau of Bernardo Balbi; bro of Andrea (prov of Verona; pod and cap of Famagosta), Elena, Maria, Bernardo, Marina, Bartolomeo (prov), Agostino, Marco; nephew of **Ludovico**

⁴⁴ Note that there are a number of homonyms; see for instance Francesco di Natale (consul in Alexandria 1472- *Barbaro III*/351) and Francesco di Bernardo (*Barbaro III*/355).

1479 m Maria, dau of Ludovico Gradenigo di Matteo; father of Maria, Francesco, Giovanni, Ludovico, Bernardo, Giovanni Francesco (pod of Vicenza, Treviso, Bergamo), Filippo (bishop of Canea), Agostino (bishop of Canea)

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Lorraine 1483; Genoa 1484; Portugal 1486 with Marco Bevazan*; Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg and Maximilian I, King of the Romans 1488; Milan 1489-90, replaced by **Paolo Trevisan**; Rome 1491-92 (resident- sent to try to dissuade **Ermolao Barbaro** from accepting the post of patriarch of Aquileia), replaced by **Andrea Capello**, and replaced **Ermolao Barbaro**; Lucca 1496; Rome 1497-99 with Vincenzo dal Saracin, replaced **Nicolò Michiel**, replaced by **Paolo Trevisan** who refused office; Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg 1501 with Antonio Loredan; Louis XII 1501-02 with **Francesco Capello di Cristoforo** and **Domenico Trevisan**; in obed to Pope Julius II 1505 with Giovanni Pietro Stella*, **Bernardo Bembo**, **Nicolo Foscari**, Leonardo Mocenigo, **Domenico Trevisan**, Andrea Gritti, Andrea Venier, **Paolo Pisani**; Rome 1510-11 with **Paolo Capello**, **Paolo Pisani**, **Domenico Trevisan**, Leonardo Mocenigo, Ludovico Malipiero

Other posts

savtf 1482; pod and cap of Ravenna 1492-94; avog 1494-95; pod and vice cap of Brescia 1495-97; visdomino of Ferrara 1499-1500; duc el Leonardo Loredan 1501; pod of Cremona 1503-04; savcons 1504; cons 1505; Duke of Crete 1506-08; cons 1509

Education/Intellectual interests

studied Greek with Theodore Gaza, arts and law at Padua, doctor in arts 1478

noted by King as humanist

Works: author of many works in Latin and Greek including *Apologeticus ad Graecos de principatu Romanae sedis* and *Ad Caesarem pro re Christiana oratio* (1501)

Letters: many correspondents including Pietro Bembo, Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Angelo Poliziano

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1474

⁴⁵ Note that there are several contemporary homonyms for this individual, one of whom appears frequently in *Sanudo*, vol. 1, see also King 366.

King (360) notes that Donato may not have died a wealthy man after dedicating his career to public service.

Funeral monuments; S. Marcello in Rome, S.Maria dei Servi

Sources

Balla 3/114r; *Barbaro* III/303, III/341, III/342; *Cicogna* 1/90-91; *Collegio (lett sec) F.* 1/17r, 1/35r; *Collegio (lett sec) reg* 6/59v; *Cosenza* 2/1253-55; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/50r, 2/108r; *Davis* 14, 19; *DBI* 28/160-61, 40/741-53; *Firenze* 17/185v; *King* 366-68; *Neff* 376, 551; *RelazIII*v; *Sanuto* 1/1056, 1/209, 1/180, 1/503; *Sforzesco* 103 (13/5/1491), 1270 (19/8/1498), 1270 (25/8/1498); *SS* 38/117r, 33/11r; *Stampalia* 7v, 101r, 128r, 143r

Ambassadorial commissions

Duke of Lorraine *SS* 31/90v-91r; Portugal 1486, *SS* 33/31v; Rome 1490, *SS* 34/102v-103v; Rome 1497, *SS* 36/178r; France 1501, *SS* 38/178v-180r; Rome 1505, *SS* 40/105r; Rome 1510, *SS* 42/24v, 42/140v

Donato, Ludovico (Donado Dona Donati)⁴⁶

b c 1440

son of Andrea (many times amb) di Bartolomeo and Camilla, dau of Francesco Foscari (doge); bro of Antonio, Francesco, Nicolò, Girolamo, Elisabetta, Volante; uncle of **Girolamo**

1466 m Camilla, dau of Marino Lion di Andrea; father of Giovanni Domenico, Pietro, Lorenzo, Francesco (many times amb; doge 1545)

Ambassadorial posts

Urbino 1471

Other posts

savord 1467; savord 1468; savord 1469; savord 1470; savord 1471; sind in Cyprus 1477 with **Domenico Giorgio**

⁴⁶ For a contemporary homonym see *King* pp. 368-69

Other information

Balla d'Oro; 1458

Sources

Balla 2/195r; *Barbaro*, III/334; *Cicogna* 2/40; *Collegio* 12/56r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/107r; *Davies* 14, 19; *SS* 23/41v, 23/94r, 24/68v, 24/181r, 24/156v, 25/58r, 28/48v

Donato, Marco (Donado Dona Donati)

doctor

c 1415-c 1465

son of Natale (ramo dalle Rose) di Nicolò and Franceschina di Zaccaria da Mosto; nephew of Pietro; cousin of Ludovico Donato; bro of Luca, Francesco, Giovanni and 5 sisters
1444 m Elisabetta, dau of Galeotto Malaspina da Verona, widow of Pietro Morosini;
father of Pietro, Ermolao, Bernardo

Ambassadorial posts

Marquis of Monferrato and Duke of Savoy with **Pietro Morosini** 1451-52; Rome 1452; Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta 1456; Duke of Burgundy 1463-64; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1464

Other posts

savtf 1454; savtf 1455-56; savtf 1456; CX 1456; savtf 1457; pod of Vincenza 1458; CX 1459; savtf 1459; savtf 1460; cap of Bergamo 1460-61; CX 1463; savtf 1463; cons 1465; cap at Verona 146

Education/Intellectual interests

educated at Padua; doctor in law 1443; student of law from 1436

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Oratio in laudes Zacharie Trivisani*; *Oratio pro principio studii Patavani*

Letters; letters from Marco Barbo and **Ludovico Foscari**

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1433

Sources

Balla 1/175v; *Barbaro* III/351; *Collegio* 8/153r; *Cosenza* 2/1256; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/49v, 2/1074; *DBI* 40/774-75; *King* 368; *Stampalia* 102r

Duodo, Cristoforo

1418-1496

son of Luca (pod of Belluno 1438) di Pietro and Anna, dau of Michiel Duodo di Simone (ramo S. Angelo); bro of Thomas, Girolamo, Pietro (pod of Padua)

1446 m Agnese, dau of Giovanni Pisani di Cristoforo; father of Pietro (pod of Padua)

Ambassadorial posts

In obed to Alessandro VI 1492 with **Marino Lion, Sebastiano Badoer, Paolo di Andrea Barbo**

Other posts

was merchant in youth; cap of 'Golfo' 1461; prov in Biave 1469; cap of galley of Flanders 1472; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; Patrono dell'Arsenale 1475; prov in Salo 1478; savtf 1479; savtf 1480; savtf 1481; sent to Ancona with 5 galleys 1482; cap of Verona 1484-85; savtf 1484; savtf 1485; CX 1487; pod of Padua 1488; cons 1488; cons 1490; savcons 1490; Proc d'Ultra 1491; savcons 1494; savcons 1495

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1442

From a rich and prestigious family (*DBI* 42/28)

Will dated 7/1494

Funeral monument; S Cristoforo di Murano

Sources

Balla 2/203r; *Barbaro* III/373, 375, 379; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/45r; *DBI* 42/28-30; *Gradenigo* 18r; *SS* 29/78v, 29/84v 31/132v, 32/95v, 34/73r, 34/142v, 35/69v; *Notarile Testamenti* 1235/135; *Stampalia* 215r; *Treviso* lvii

Emo, Giorgio (Hemo Aymo Emus)

1450-c 1526

son of **Giovanni di Giorgio** and Chiara, dau of Giacomo Priuli; bro of Leonardo, Bertuccio, Pietro, Gabriel; great grandson of Pietro (amb to Leopold of Austria 1381)

1483 m Lucia, dau of Antonio Loredan di Giacomo; father of Giovanni (exiled and pod of Verona) and Lorenzo (amb to France 1518)

Ambassadorial posts

Pesaro 1483 with **Luca Pisani**; refused post to Milan with 1496; refused embassy to Milan 1496; refused missions to France, Hungary, Poland and the Emperor

Other posts

diplomatic-military mission to Rimini 1494; prov in campo 1500; held post of savtf eight times between 1500-11; savtf 1503; CX 1504; CX 1505; CX 1506; CX 1507; prov in Verona with Marco Rizo 1507; savcons 1508; savcons virtually every year between 1509-15; cons 1510; cons 1512; prov in campo 1512; Proc di Citra 1516; duc el Antonio Grimani 1521

Other information

Balla d'Oro; 1469

Acquired a reputation for refusing diplomatic posts

Funeral monuments; S.Maria dei Servi

Sources

Balla 3/161r; *Barbaro III*/393,398, 403; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/121v; *DBI* 42/631-38; *Firenze* 29/21r; *Stampalia* 34r, 84v

Emo, Giovanni (Hemo Aymo Emus)

miles

1419-1483

son of Giorgio di Giovanni and Maria Venier, niece of Doge Antonio; grandson of Pietro (amb to Leopold of Austria 1381)

1448 m Chiara dau of Giacomo Priuli di Constantino, 1457 m Elisabetta, dau of Giovanni Molin di Giovanni; father of **Giorgio**, Bertucio, Leonardo (pod of Verona 1518; prov 1523), Pietro, Gabriel

Ambassadorial posts

Gorizia 1460; Emperor 1460; Hungary with **Francesco Giustiniani** 1463-65; King of Aragon 1465 with **Francesco Giustiniani** at wedding of Alfonso of Calabria and Ippolita Sforza; Rome 1465; Rimini 1468; Diet of Ratisbon 1471; Egypt 1472; Naples 1473-74; Hungary 1474; Constantinople 1474; refused post in Florence 1475; Florence 1478 (elected with **Antonio Venier**, but went to Florence alone as Venier became ill), Lorenzo de' Medici complained about Emo's behaviour, and so he was replaced by **Bernardo Bembo**; refused post in Hungary 1480

Other posts

merchant in youth; pod and cap of Belluno 1466-68; CX 1471; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; CX 1472; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; savtf 1476; cap of Brescia 1476-77; savtf 1480; cons 1481; savcons 1481; prov in campo 1482; prov to Duke of Lorraine 1483; savcons 1483

Other information

Funeral monument; S. Maria de' Servi

Sources

Barbaro III/398, 393, 403; *Capi F.* 1/231, 281; *Cicogna* 1/36-37; *Collegio* 9/172v, 10/89r, 2/158v, 13/4r; *Cosenza* 2/1289; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/65v, 2/121r; *CXMiste* 17/183r, 17/187r; *DBI* 42/641; *Gradenigo* 139v; *Lorenzo* 1/314, 1/543, 2/17, 2/366, 3/5, 3/20, 3/52, 3/70, 3/134, 6/358, 7/29; *Neff* 387, 518; *SS* 22/4v, 22/112v, 23/144r; *Stampalia* 98v, 122v, 146v

Ambassadorial commissions

Gorizia 1459, *SS* 20/203v; Hungary 1463, *SS* 20/147r-48v; Babylon 1472, *SS* 25/151r-52r

Ferro, Antonio

b c 1435

son of Giovanni di Paolo and Elena, dau of Salmarigo di Verzi (m 1430)

1464 m Constanza, dau of Giovanni Moranzo Marcer; father of Stefano

Ambassadorial posts

Constantinople 1486; Rome 1486 (elected)

Other posts

pod and cap of Rovigo and prov gen of Polesine 1484; savtf 1486; prov to Roberto Sanseverino 1486; bailo Constantinople 1487; bailo Constantinople 1488; lt in Friuli 1493

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1453

Dispacci: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al Senato, Costantinopoli, F. 1A (1486)

Sources

Balla 2/251r; *Collegio (lett sec)* F.1/140r, F.1/319r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/128v; *Gradenigo* 17v, 231v; *Friuli* lix; *Magg* 24/106r; *Rovigo* xliii; *SAV6*/51v, 2r; *SS* 33/45r, 33/47v, 33/58v; *Stampalia* 172v

Foscari, Nicolò

1447-1490

son of Giacomo (exiled in 1444 and confined to Canea 1451) di Francesco and Lucrezia, dau of Leonardo Contarini; grandson of doge Francesco Foscari; related to **Filippo**

1464 m Caterina, dau of **Federico Corner** di Giovanni; father of Giovanni, Giacomo, Girolamo, Federico, Francesco, Marco, Ludovico (pod of Verona, Crema, Vicenza), Leonardo

Ambassadorial posts

Cairo 1489⁴⁷

Other posts

savord 1481; savord 1482; savord 1483; duc el Agostino Barbarigo 1486; CX 1488; CX 1489; savtf 1489

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1465

DBI 49/335 notes that the family was famed for its wealth; in 1483 Nicolò provided 5,000 ducats to the government to help fund the Ferrarese war.

Sources

Balla 3/174r; *Barbaro* III/510, *Cicogna* IV/511; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/67v, 2/130r; *DBI* 49/335-36; *Ferrara* 81

Foscari, Urbano

1423- c 1478

son of Fillipo di Francesco (savcons and duc el) and Elisabetta, dau of Azzone Trevisan di Paolo; bro of Francesco (m dau of **Marco Barbarigo**), Michiel, Ludovico; related to Nicolò

1452 m Elisabetta, dau of Girolamo Donato di Maffeo; father of Giacomo, Alessandro, Girolamo, Paolo, Vettore

Ambassadorial posts

Hungary 1477 (elected)⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Note that Niccolo Foscari was elected ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy in 1483, but did not take up the post due to ill health; instead Niccolo Foscari was commissioned to go (for election see *SS* 31/22v; for commission see *SS* 31/38r-39v).

⁴⁸ It is not clear whether Foscari was sent to Hungary- he was certainly elected but no instructions or dispatches relating to this mission survive (*DBI* 49/350).

Other posts

cons at Modone, Peloponneso (Greece) 1457; savord 1460; cap of Corfu 1463; prov at Biave 1474; CX 1478; pod at Chioggia 1478

Other information

According to *DBI* 49/350, family was famed for its wealth

Balla D'Oro; 1441

Sources

Balla 2/255r; *Barbaro* III/509, III/510; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/57v, 2/130r; *DBI* 49/350-51; *Gradenigo* 178r; *SS* 28/25v-26r

Foscarini, Ludovico (Foscarenus Foscarenus Fuscarenus)

doctor miles

1409-1480

son of Antonio (pod of Conegliano 1425; pod and cap of Rovigo 1428) and Beruzia, dau of Federigo Giustiniani

1430 m Elisabetta, dau of Andrea Zane di Michiel; father of **Nicolò**, **Girolamo**, **Vettore**

Ambassadorial posts

Bologna 1445-46; Milan 1446-47; Florence 1448-49; Genoa 1449-50; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1452; in obed to Pope Calixtus III 1455 with **Triadano Gritti**, **Pasquale Malipiero**, **Giacomo Loredano**; Genoa 1455; Diet of Mantua 1459 and Rome with **Orsato Giustiniani**; excluded from holding diplomatic position for two years 1460-62; Rome 1463-64; in obed to Pope Paul II 1464 with **Vettore Capello**, **Triadano Gritti**, **Girolamo Barbarigo**, **Zaccaria Trevisan**, **Nicolò Soranzo**, **Pietro Mocenigo**, **Andrea Lion**, **Nicolò Tron**, **Hector Pasquale**; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1465; Rome 1470 with **Andrea Vendramin**, **Antonio Vinciguerra*** and **Ludovico Manenti***; Ferrara 1471 with **Andrea Vendramin**

Other posts

CX 1437; pod of Ravenna 1438; lt in Friuli 1439; pod and cap of Feltre 1439-40; cons 1441-42; castellan of Modon 1442; cons 1444-45; CX 1445; savtf 1445; savtf 1446; pod

of Vicenza 1446-47; savtf 1448; cons 1448; savtf 1449; cons 1449-50; pod of Verona 1451-52; savtf 1451-52; cons 1452-53; savcons 1453; pod of Brescia 1453-54; savcons 1454; cons 1455; avog 1455-56; cap of Verona 1456-57; savcons 1457-58; avog 1458-59; avog 1460; in Venice and condemned to two years exclusion from all embassies, for interfering in the bishopric of Padua 1460; lt in Friuli 1461; avog 1463; cons 1464-66; savcons 1465; cap-gen at sea, Malapaga 1465; savcons 1466; pod of Padua 1466-67; savcons 1468; CX 1468-69; savcons 1469; Proc SM 1471; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; savcons 1472; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; savcons 1474

Education/intellectual interests

studied arts at Padua under Paolo Veneto and Prosdocimo de' Conti, doctorate of arts 1429; doctorate of laws 1434

noted by King as humanist

Works; *Epistolae*; *Exempla rerum bene gestarum ac prudenter dictarum, industria studioque Ludovico Fuscarenii ex doctissimorum libris collecta*; *Gesta martyrum Victoris et Coronae*

Letters: correspondents include Ulisse Aleotti*, Cardinal Bessarion, **Barbone Morosini**, **Marco Donato**, **Pietro Molin**, **Nicolò Da Canal**, Francesco Trevisan

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1427

King (374) notes that Foscari possessed significant wealth.

Sources

Balla 1/68v; *Barbaro* III/523, III/541; *Cicogna* II/44, II/56, IV/185, IV/461; *Collegio* 11/69r; *Cosenza* 2/1507-08; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/68v, 2/131v; *CXMiste* 13/4r; *DBI* 49/383-88; *Enc It XVI* 761; *Gradenigo* 16r, 360r, 15v; *King* 374-77; *Lorenzo* 1/119, 1/232; *Malipiero* 22; *Neff* 466; *Sforzesco* 357 (29/8/1471), *SS* 23/137r, 20/62v, 22/37r; *Stampalia* 56r, 213v, 227r, 236r

Ambassadorial commissions

Milan 1446, *SS* 17/53r; Genoa 1448, *SS* 18/105r; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1452, *SS* 19/146v; Calixtus III, *SS* 20/62v; Diet of Mantua 1459, *SS* 20/189v; Rome 1463, *SS* 21/211r-v; Rome 1470, *SS* 24/106v-108r; Ferrara 1471, *SS* 25/62r

Secondary sources

Giovanni Battista Picotti, 'Le lettere di Ludovico Foscari' *Ateneo Veneto*, vol. 32 (1909), pp. 21-49; Gianni Zippel, 'Ludovico Foscari ambasciatore a Genova nella crisi dell'espansione veneziana sulla terraferma (1449-1450)', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, vol. 71 (1959), pp. 181-255

Foscarini, Nicolò (Foscarenus Foscarenus Fuscarenus)

doctor miles

1442-1506

son of **Ludovico** di Antonio and Elisabetta, dau of Andrea Zane di Michiel; bro of **Girolamo** and **Vettore**

1471 m Elisabetta, dau of Ambrogio Contarini di Nicolò; father of Francesco, Bernardo, Ludovico, Nicolò, Antonio (pod of Feltre 1513; rector of Canea 1525)

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Lorraine 1483-84 with **Bartolomeo Vettore** (elected); Burgundy 1483-84;⁴⁹ Savoy 1497; refused position to France 1499; in obed to Julius II 1505 with **Bernardo Bembo**, **Andrea Venier**, **Leonardo Mocenigo**, **Domenico Trevisan**, **Andrea Gritti**, **Paolo Pisani**, **Girolamo Donato**

Other posts

savtf 1487-88; avog 1489; cap of Brescia 1489; cap of Famagosta 1491; savcons 1491; savtf 1494; cap of Candia in the Levant 1494; cons 1496; cap of Verona 1497; prov in campo 1497; prov in campo 1498; savcons 1499; prov in campo 1499; cap of Padua 1500-02; savcons 1502; cons 1502; CX 1503; savcons 1503; prov in Romagna (instead of **Giovanni Emo**) 1503; CX 1504; savcons 1504; cons 1505; savcons 1506

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1460

⁴⁹ See note 47 above

Sources

Balla 2/239v; *Barbaro* III/541; *Brescia* liii; *Coll* 15/77r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/69r, 2/132v; *DBI* 49/400-402; *Gradenigo* 297r, 299r, 109v; *Padua* xlix; *Sanuto* I/147, I/494, I/858, I/833, 2/24; *SAV6*/135r; *SS* 31/22v, 37/100v; *Stampalia* 8r, 101r, 102r, 111r

Ambassadorial Commissions

Rome 1505, *SS* 40/105r

Gabriel, Bertucio (Cabriel Gabrieli Gabriello)

miles

c 1423- 1481

son of Giacomo di Giovanni and Samaritana, dau of Bertucio Pisani di Pietro (m 1406);
bro of Pietro, Giovanni, Francesco, Trifon, Francesca

1444 m Suordamor, dau of Tomaso Michiel di Luca, 1466 m Diana, dau of Giacomo Pizzamano di Fantin; father of Vincenzo, Giacomo, Francesco, Trifon, Ludovica, Samaritana, Gardesia, Gabriella

Ambassadorial posts

Bologna 1474; Sigismund, Duke of Austria 1475; Hungary 1476-77; refused embassy to Naples 1477; France 1478-80 (resident- also present at the Convegno of Ferrara 1478)

Other posts

savord 1450; savord 1451; CX 1480; savtf 1480; nominated pod of Bergamo 1481, but died before could take up post

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1441

DBI 51/34 notes that Bertucio came from rich and influential family

Will dated 24/4/1481

Sources

Balla 2/264r; *Barbaro* 11/187; *Collegio* 12/18r, 12/53v, 12/84r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/34v, 2/154r; *CXMiste* 18/99r; *DBI* 51/34-36; *Gradenigo* 119r, 178r, 264v; *Lorenzo*

3/101, 3/180, 3/198, 3/316; 4/197-98, 5/22; *Notarile Testamenti* 1229/76; *Sforzesco* 341/223, 364 (28/9/1477); *SS* 27/34r, 27/110r, 29/143v, 29/46v; *Stampalia* 113v, 167r; *Vite* 19

Ambassadorial commissions

Sigismund of Austria 1475, *SS* 27/15v; Hungary 1475, *SS* 27/113v-114r; France 1478, *SS* 28/121v-122r

Giorgio, Domenico (Georgio Zorzi)

c 1407- c 1478

son of Vinciguerra di Bernardo and Orsa Contarini; bro of Giovanni and Pietro; related to Girolamo Giorgio di Lorenzo

1436 m Francesca, dau of Andrea Contarini di Giovanni; father of Ludovico, Antonio, Pantalon, Francesco, Ludovico

Ambassadorial posts

Ferrara 1471; cap-gen at sea 1474; Milan 1476 (elected)⁵⁰

Other posts

sent to meet Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg 1452;⁵¹ savtf 1452; savtf 1457; savtf 1458; savtf 1459; cap of Vicenza 1459; savtf 1461; savtf 1462; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; savtf 1463; savcons 1463; savtf 1464; savcons 1465; cons 1465; savcons 1466; cons 1466; CX 1466; savcons 1467; cap of Verona 1467; savcons 1468; avog 1469; vice pod of Padua 1469; cap of Padua 1470; cons 1470; savcons 1471; CX 1471; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; CX 1472; savcons 1472; savcons 1473; cons 1473; savcons 1474; cons 1474; CX 1475; savcons 1475; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; savcons 1476; cons 1476; cons 1477; savcons 1477; sind in Cyprus 1477; savcons 1477; savcons 1478; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; prov in Friuli 1478

⁵⁰ *Stampalia* (111r) notes that Domenico Giorgio was sent as ambassador to Austria 1483 with Paolo Pisani- this has been excluded as Giorgio is thought to have died in 1478.

⁵¹ This post is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (75r)

Education/intellectual interests

Noted by King as a humanist

Had several humanist works dedicated to him

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1425

Sources

Balla 1/147r; *Barbaro* VII/415, VII/404, VII/405; *Capi* F.2/225; *Collegio* 10/135r, 10/146r, 10/163v, 11/119r, 11/170v, 12/56r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/349; *CXMiste* 16/233r, 17/182r, 17/187r, 18/154v, 19/42r, 19/62r; *King* 378-79; *Gradenigo* 75r, 270r, 311r; *Lorenzo* 2/222; *Padua* xlix, liii; *Sforzesco* 367 (29/9/1478); *SS* 20/128v, 20/175r, 21/61r, 21/104r, 21/230r, 22/80v, 22/136v, 23/10r, 23/138r, 25/43r, 25/119r, 26/19r, 26/50v, 26/186v, 28/48v, 28/60v, 28/87v; *Stampalia* 89r; *Verona* lxxxi; *Vicenza* xxvii; *Vite* 92

Ambassadorial commissions

Ferrara 1471, *SS* 25/43r-v; cap-gen 1474, *SS* 26/124v-125v

Giorgio, Girolamo (Georgio Zorzi)

fl 1400-1485

son of Lorenzo di Pietro; bro of Marino

1418 m Isabetta, dau of Francesco Bernardo; 1450 m dau of Fabio Soro, widow of Nicolò della Liviera; father of Ludovico, Giovanni, Francesco

Ambassadorial posts

Milan 1485; France 1485

Other posts

savcons

Other information

Dispatches: British Museum, Add. MS 48, 067 (Yelverton LXXIII), Letter book of Girolamo Giorgio, ambassador to France 1485

Sources

Barbaro VII/422; *Calendar* 498, 505, 507-08, 511-12, 515, 522-24, 526; *Cronaca Matrimonia* II/145v, II/146r, II/349v; *Gradenigo* 108v, 231v, 292v; *SS* 32/165v; *Stampalia* 94v, 161v

Ambassadorial commissions

Milan 1485, *SS* 32/168v-169r

Note: the following offices were held by Girolamo Giorgio, but cannot be attributed definitely to either Girolamo di Francesco, or Girolamo di Lorenzo (see note at end of profiles for details of Girolamo Giorgio di Francesco).

Ambassadorial posts

Corfu 1475, possibly with Giovanni Dario*

Sources

Gradenigo 231v; *Neff* 376, 416

Giorgio, Marco (Georgio Zorzi)

d 1516

son of Bertucio di Giovanni and dau of Francesco Balbi di Ludovico

1462 m Marina, dau of Tomaso Gradenigo; 1466 m dau of Francesco Bragadin, widow of Giacomo Contarini; father of Girolamo, Marcantonio, Bertucio

Ambassadorial posts

Spain 1483 (elected); Milan 1495 (elected); Savoy 1497; Spain 1498; France 1499-50 with Nicolò Michiel, Benedetto Giustiniani, Benedetto Trevisan

Other posts

savtf 1492; cap and pod of Rovigo 1493; savtf 1494; prov in campo in war with Charles VIII 1495; cap of Bergamo 1496; savtf 1497; cap of Bergamo 1498; CX 1502

Sources

Barbaro VII/426; *Bergamo* xxxix; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/349v, 2/350; *CXMiste* 29/115r; *Ferrara* 81; *Rovigo* xxxix; *Sanuto* 1/663-64; *SAV6*/21v; *Sforzesco* 383 (24/5/1495), (2/5/1495); *SS* 36/130v; *Stampalia* 95r, 103v, 155r

Giustiniani, Bernardo (Giustinian Giustiniano Zusti Zustignan Justinianus)

miles

1408-1489

son of Leonardo (amb many times, including to Mantua 1436, Naples 1443; Proc SM) di Bernardo and Orsa, dau of Bernardo da Mulla; grandfather of **Marco Dandolo**; cousin of **Orsato Giustiniani**; related to Lauro and Taddeo Quirini and Carolo and Giacomo Zeno 1433 m Bettina, dau of of Giovanni Priuli di Constantino; father of Leonardo, Lorenzo, Marco, Orsa (mother of Marco Dandolo)

Ambassadorial posts

Naples 1458-59 with **Leo Viari**; Rome 1458-59; France 1461-62 with **Paolo Barbo**, via Milan; Rome 1462-63; Hungary 1464; Rome 1466; Naples 1470, replaced **Filippo Correr**; in obed to Sixtus IV 1471-72 with **Andrea Lion**, **Triadano Gritti**, **Marco Corner**; Ferrara 1473;⁵² Milan 1485

Other posts

Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg 1452; savtf 1456; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; savtf 1457; savtf 1458; savtf 1458-59; savtf 1459; savtf 1460; savtf 1461; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; cons 1463; savcons 1464; avog 1464-65; cap of Padua 1467; savcons 1467; prov in Lombardy 1468; cons 1469; savcons 1469-70; savcons 1470; savcons 1471; savcons 1472; cons 1472-73; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; savcons 1473-74; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; savcons 1474; Proc SM 1474; savcons 1474-75;

⁵² *Stampalia* (46r) notes that Giustiniani was ambassador to Milan in 1476- this post has not been located in any other source and has been excluded from the database.

savcons 1475; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; prov to Friuli 1477; CX 1477; cons 1478; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; savcons 1478; savcons 1478; savcons 1479; savcons 1479-80; savcons 1480; savcons 1481-84; duc el Marco Barbarigo 1485; savcons 1485-86; duc el Agostino Barbarigo 1486; savcons 1486; savcons 1487; savcons 1488

Education/Intellectual interests

studied with Cristoforo de Scarpis, Francesco Filelfo and Guarino Veronese; may have studied arts and laws at Padua

noted by King as humanist

Works: include *De divi Marci Evangelistae vita, translatione et sepulturae loco; Orationes et epistolae; Ad Nicodem*⁵³

Letters; many correspondents including George of Trebizond and Pietro Dolfino

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1431

Will dated 5/3/1489

Sources

Balla 1/84r, *Barbaro* VII/485, VII/454; *Cochrane* 80-81; *Collegio* 8/151r; *Cosenza* 2/1870-73; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/78r, 2/368r, 2/369r; *Gradenigo* 75r; *King* 381-83; *Labalme*, *Lorenzo* 1/116, 1/177, 6/354; *Notarile Testamenti* 1203/33; *Sforzesco* 365 (29/11/1477); *SS* 23/26r; *Stampalia* 46r, 127r, 132r, 161v, 214v, 227r

Ambassadorial commissions

Naples 1458, *SS* 20/170r; France 1461, *SS* 21/61v; Rome 1462, *SS* 21/119v; Naples 1470, *SS* 24/111r-112v; Rome 1471, *SS* 25/80r-84r; Milan 1485, *SS* 32/142v-144r

Secondary Sources

P.H. Labalme, 'The last will of a Venetian patrician (1489)', in E.P. Mahoney (ed.), *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Leiden 1976), pp. 483-501; P.H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento* (Rome 1969)

⁵³ Refer to *Labalme* for other works by Giustiniani

Giustiniani, Francesco (Giustinian Giustiniano Zusti Zustignan)

miles

c 1422- 1480

son of Giovanni di Marco and Lucia, dau of Giovanni Morosini; bro of Marco

1448 m dau of Francesco Contarini di Marino; 1464 m Paola, dau of Antonio Malipiero;
father of Paolo, Francesco, Antonio, Giovanni, Marco, Tomaso, GiacomoAmbassadorial postsHungary with **Giovanni Emo** 1464; King of Aragon 1465 with **Giovanni Emo** for wedding of Alfonso of Calabria and Ippolita Sforza; Emperor Frederick III (Verona) 1469 with **Zaccaria Barbaro, Domenico Moro, Pietro Molin** for wedding of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Buona, dau of the Duke of Savoy; Rome 1469-70, after **Vettore Soranzo, Paolo Morosini** and **Antonio Priuli** refused post; Milan 1470 with **Pietro Molin**; Hungary 1473; King of Aragon 1474;⁵⁴ refused embassy to Rome 1477Other posts

pod and cap of Feltre 1460; cap of Vicenza 1471-72; CX 1473; CX 1474; pod and cap of Crema 1474; prov in Cyprus 1475-76; CX 1476

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1440

Sources*Balla* 2/283r; *Barbaro* VII/460; *Belluno* liv; *Capi* F.2/20; *Cicogna* 3/367; *Collegio* 10/127v; *Crema* liii; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/78r, 2/369r; *CXMiste* 18/79v, 18/117v, 18/120r, 19/80r; *Enc It* XVII/385; *Gradenigo* 139v, 140r, 178r, 292v; *Lorenzo* 1/45, 1/117, 1/125; *SS* 22/3r, 22/4v, 22/107v, 22/112v, 24/30r; *Stampalia* 127r, 127v; *Vicenza* xxxviiiAmbassadorial commissionsHungary 1464, *SS* 22/3v; Emperor 1468, *SS* 23/149r; Rome 1469, *SS* 24/42r

⁵⁴ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (140r) and *Stampalia* (127v)

Giustiniani, Orsato (Giustinian Giustiniano Zusti Zustignan)

miles

d 1464

son of Marco di Orsato; cousin of **Bernardo Giustiniani**; bro of Giovanni, Pancrazio, Marino

1408 m Agnese, dau of Pietro Morosini

Ambassadorial posts

Ferrara 1436-37; Emperor 1438 with Francesco Bon;⁵⁵ Emperor 1442;⁵⁶ Francesco Sforza 1446; cap-gen at sea 1448; Crema 1450; Rome 1453-54 with **Cristoforo Moro**; Diet of Mantua and Rome 1459 with **Ludovico Foscari**; Rome 1461

Other posts

cap of Verona 1441; cons 1444; cons 1446; savcons 1448; pod and cap of Crema 1449; pod of Padua 1450; savcons 1451; CX 1451; sent to meet Emperor Frederick III 1452; amb/prov in Brescia 1452 with **Pasquale Malipiero**; savcons 1452; CX 1453; savcons 1453; savcons 1454; CX 1455; savcons 1455; savcons 1456; CX 1456; savcons 1457; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; CX 1457; savcons 1458; CX 1458; savcons 1459; Proc di Citra 1459; savcons 1461; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1461; savcons 1463; cap-gen at sea 1463; cap-gen at sea 1464

Other information

Will dated 23/2/1444

Funeral monument; S. Andrea di Lido detto La Certosa

Sources

Ambrosiana (31/7/1464); *Barbaro* VII/452; VII/484; *Cicogna* 2/56-57; *Collegio* 8/47r, 8/2r, 3/159v; *Crema* liii; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/368r; *DBI* 17/664; *Enc It* xviii; *Gradenigo* 15v, 16r, 74v, 360r; *Labalme* 157-74; *Padua* xlix; *SAV4*/146v, 147r, 148r, 148v; *SS* 18/6v, 18/153r, 18/162v, 19/114r, 19/196v, 20/12r, 20/57v, 20/83r, 20/114v, 20/119v, 20/175r, 21/178v; *Stampalia* 213v, 236r

⁵⁵ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (140r) and *Stampalia* (177v)

Ambassadorial commissions

Francesco Sforza 1446, *SS* 17/3r; Emperor 1452, *SS* 19/115r-116r; Rome 1453, *SS* 19/217r; Diet of Mantua and Rome 1459, *SS* 20/189v;

Gradenico, Domenico (Gradenigo)

miles

fl 1430-1478

son of Giacomo di Pietro and Elena, dau of Andrea Giorgio (m 1422); bro of Giacomo 1447 m Lucrezia, dau of Pantelon da Veggia; father of Giovanni Francesco, Nicolò, Vincenzo, Pietro, Ludovico (amb to Bologna 1530)

Ambassadorial posts

Cyprus 1469; Naples and Sicily 1474; France 1477-78, via Milan with Giovanni Borghi*

Other posts

CX 1475; prov in Lombardy 1476; CX 1476; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1476

Sources

Barbaro IV/67, IV/78; *Calendar* 461, 462, *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/74r, 2/145r-v; *CXMiste* 18/212v, 18/190v; *Gradenigo* 108r, 193r; *Lorenzo* 2/222, 2/17, 2/347, 2/366, 2/411, 2/466, 2/457, 2/458; *Neff* 389; *Sforzesco* 304 (18/6/1476), 366 (20/7/1478), 367 (29/9/1478); *SS* 24/44r, 26/155v, 27/12v, 28/15r, 27/89r; *Stampalia* 132r, 151v

Ambassadorial commissions

Cyprus 1469, *SS* 24/44r-v; Naples 1474, *SS* 26/135r; France 1477, *SS* 28/21r, *Calendar* 461

⁵⁶ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (74v)

Gradenico, Pasquale (Gradenigo)

b c 1398

son of Matteo di Marco; bro of Marco, Benedetto, Girolamo, Andrea, Pietro, Giovanni
 1433 m Chiara, dau of Francesco Falier di Giacomo;⁵⁷ father of Giovanni and Girolamo

Ambassadorial postsAlbania 1457⁵⁸Other posts

prov 1435; bailo at Ruvazzo 1440

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1416 and 1418

Sources

Balla 1/73v; *Barbaro* IV/95, IV/105; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/73v, 2/145v; *Gradenigo*
 320v; *Stampalia* 66r

Gritti, Triadano (Grittus)

1390-1474

son of Homobon; bro of Benedetto (Duke of Candia) and Baptista
 1417 m Suordamor, dau of Pietro Da Canal di Filippo; 1441 m Elisabetta di Nicolò
 Correr; father of Francesco, Luca, Girolamo, Homobon (cap of the galleys), Marino (cap
 of Ravenna 1509)

⁵⁷ Note that while *Cronaca Matrimonia* (2/145v) states that Gradenigoenico married Chiara Falier in 1433, *Cronaca Matrimonia* (1/173v) argues that he married the dau of Francesco Condulmer in 1426.

⁵⁸ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (320v) and *Stampalia* (66r)

Ambassadorial posts

King of Aragon 1451, with Giovanni Gonella*; Rome 1451; in obed to Calixtus III 1455 with **Pasquale Malipiero, Ludovico Foscari, Giacomo Loredan**; in obed to Pius II 1458 with **Girolamo Barbarigo, Matteo Vitturi, Victor Capello**; in obed to Paul II 1464 with **Ludovico Foscari, Victor Capello, Girolamo Barbarigo, Zaccaria Trevisan, Nicolò Soranzo, Pietro Mocenigo, Andrea Lion, Nicolò Tron, Hector Pasquale**; Milan 1470, probably with Giovanni Dario*; in obed to Sixtus IV 1471 with **Bernardo Giustiniani, Andrea Lion, Marco Corner**; Ferrara 1473 with **Andrea Vendramin, Nicolò Soranzo, Andrea Lion**

Other posts

cons 1445; CX 1447; avog 1450; CX 1450; pod of Padua 1451; savtf 1454; savcons 1455; CX 1455; savcons 1456; CX 1456; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; savcons 1458; savcons 1459; CX 1459; savcons 1460; savcons 1462; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; cons 1463; savcons 1463; savcons 1464; cap of Padua 1465; savcons 1467; CX 1467; savcons 1468; savcons 1469; savcons 1470; savcons 1471; savcons 1472; savcons 1473; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; cap-gen at sea 1474

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1411

Sources

Balla 1/77v; *Barbaro* IV/169, IV/181; *Collegio* 8/32r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/71v, 2/142r; *CXMiste* 13/87v, 15/44v, 15/109r, 19/85r; *Dolfin* 419v; *Enc It XVII*/977; *Ferrara* 5; *Gradenigo* 15v, 16v, 34r; *Lorenzo* 1/221-22; *Magg* 22/181r; *Malipiero* 103; *Neff* 416; *Padua* xlix, liii; *SAV4*/147r, 148r, 148v; *SAV6*/89r; *SS* 19/47v, 19/41v, 20/62v, 20/83r, 20/176r, 20/179v, 20/206r, 21/230r, 22/37r, 22/89v, 23/58v, 23/97v, 23/160r, 24/178v, 24/87r, 26/24v, 26/11v; *Stampalia* 89r, 213v, 214v

Ambassadorial commissions

King of Aragon 1451, *SS* 19/41v-42v; Rome 1455, *SS* 20/62v; Rome 1458, *SS* 20/164r-65v; Milan 1470, *SS* 24/142; Rome 1471, *SS* 25/80r-84r; Ferrara 1473, *SS* 26/30r

Lando, Ludovico (Landus)

c 1420- after 1483

son of Marino di Vitale and Maria, dau of Nicolò Baseggio (m 1413); brother of **Vitale**;
uncle of doge Pietro Lando di Giovanni

1442 m Agnese, dau of Giacomo Valier di Bertucio; father of Marino, Francesco (prov at
Rovigo), Girolamo

Ambassadorial posts

Albania 1469; Hungary 1480 (**Giovanni Emo** refused this post)

Other posts

pod of Torcello 1464; sind in Levant 1473 with Zaccaria de Freschi* and **Antonio
Vettore**; sind and prov in Levant 1475; savtf 1476; savtf 1477; amb/prov in Friuli 1478
with Zaccaria de Freschi*; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; savtf 1478; savtf 1479; avog
1481; savtf 1482; pod of Brescia 1482-83

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1438

Funeral monument; S Francesco del Deserto

Sources

Balla 2/294r; *Barbaro* IV/221, IV/223; *Capi F.* 1/51; *Cicogna* 5/486; *Collegio* 13/21r;
Cronaca Matrimonia 1/87r, 2/159r; *CXMiste* 20/106r; *Magg* 23/89r, 24/5r; *Neff* 443;
SAV6/96r; *SS* 27/68r-v, 27/117v, 28/87v, 29/122r; *Vite* 163-64

Ambassadorial commissions

Hungary 1480, *SS* 29/94r-95v

Lando, Vitale (Landus)

miles doctor

1421-1482

son of Marino di Vitale and Maria, dau of Nicolò Baseggio; bro of **Ludovico**, Girolamo (archbishop of Candia; patriarch), Giovanni; uncle of doge Pietro Lando di Giovanni
 1452 m Elisabetta, dau of Paolo Zane di Paolo di Giovanni, widow of Giacomo Contarini di Leonardo, sister of Patriarch of Antioch; father of Marino, Marco, Francesco (doctor and miles)

Ambassadorial posts

Siena 1452-54; Duke of Modena 1456; Pope Pius II 1461; Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg 1461;⁵⁹ Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg 1468; Milan 1475 with **Vettore Soranzo**

Other posts

savtf 1456-57; savtf 1458; pod and cap of Ravenna 1461-62; prov with the army at seige of Trieste 1463; savtf 1463; savtf 1464; CX 1464; savtf 1465; savtf 1465; savtf 1465-66; cons 1466; cap of Brescia 1467-68; avog 1468-69; savtf 1469-70; savcons 1470; pod of Verona 1470-71; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; avog 1472-73; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; savcons 1474; savcons 1474-75; lt in Friuli 1475-76; savcons 1476; CX 1476-77; savcons 1477; cons 1478; condemned by CX for betrayal of public secrets 1478

Education/Intellectual interests

studied at Padua; doctorate in laws and arts 1445

noted by King as humanist

Works: Oratio ad Caesarem Augustem Imperatorem (1468)

Letters: correspondents include **Ludovico Foscari**

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1439

⁵⁹ The two missions Lando was sent on in 1461 may be the same- *King* (385) states that he was sent to the Pope in 1461, while *SS* (21/37v) indicates that he was commissioned to go to the Emperor in this year.

Sources

Balla 2/294r; *Barbaro* IV/221, IV/223; *Cicogna* 2/184; *Collegio* 12/71v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/89r, 2/159r; *Gradenigo* 292v; *King* 385-86; *Lorenzo* 2/85, 2/87; *Magg* 23/35r; *Stampalia* 94r

Ambassadorial commissions

Siena 1452, *SS* 19/172r-v; Modena 1455, *SS* 20/73v; Emperor 1461, *SS* 21/37v; Milan 1475, *SS* 26/176v

Lion, Andrea (Leone)

d 1478

son of Nicolò di Marino; bro of Giovanni, Francesco; uncle of Nicolò; grandfather of **Girolamo**

1418 m Altadonna, dau of Donato Arimondo; father of Giacomo (pod of Verona), **Marino**, dau m **Gabriel Loredan**

Ambassadorial posts

in obed to Pope Paul II 1464 with **Triadano Gritti**, **Ludovico Foscari**, **Nicolò Tron**, **Girolamo Barbarigo**, **Vettore Capello**, **Pietro Mocenigo**, **Nicolò Soranzo**, **Zaccaria Trevisan**, **Hector Pasquale**; in obed to Sixtus IV with **Triadano Gritti**, **Marco Corner**, **Bernardo Giustiniani** 1471; Ferrara 1473 with **Andrea Vendramin**, **Nicolò Soranzo**, **Triadano Gritti**

Other posts

pod of Bergamo 1452; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; pod of Brescia 1460; pod of Brescia 1467; pod of Padua 1469; Proc di Sopra 1473; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478

Sources

Barbaro IV/253, IV/245; IV/236; *Bergamo* xxxvii; *Brescia* li; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/85r, 2/162r; *Ferrara* 5; *Gradenigo* 16r, 311r; *Padua* xlix; *SAV*6/86v; *Sforzesco* 346 (2/1/1459); *SS* 18/4r, 22/37r, 26/24v; *Stampalia* 89r, 214r, 214v

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1471, SS 25/80r-84r; Ferrara 1473, SS 26/30v

Lion, Girolamo (Leone)

miles

b c 1449

son of **Marino di Andrea** and **Nobile**, dau of **Girardo Rargon da Cesena**; bro of **Giovanni Antonio**; related to **Nicolò**

1469 m dau of **Brunoro da Gambera**

Ambassadorial posts

Mantua 1490 with **Giorgio Pisani**, **Francesco Capello**, **Zaccaria Contarini**;⁶⁰ Spain 1492 with **Giorgio Pisani**; Maximilian of Habsburg 1493-95 with **Marco di Santi*** and **Zaccaria Contarini**; Milan 1495 (resident) replaced by **Marco Dandolo**; Milan 1497; refused mission to Hungary 1499; Rome 1500, replaced **Paolo Capello**

Other posts

savord 1480; savord 1481; savord 1484; prov to Parma 1484; CX 1486; savtf 1496; savtf 1497; pod and cap of Crema 1498; avog 1500

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1467

Dispatches; **Zaccaria Contarini** and **Girolamo Lion**, Registro delle lettere scritte al Senato nel tempo della loro ambasciata a Massimiliano 1493-94 (Marciana, It VII Cod. 1044-9608)

Sources

Balla 3/210r; *Barbaro* VI/253; *Collegio* 14/195r; *Collegio (commissioni)* reg 1482-95/64v; *Crema* liii; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/85r, 2/162v; *CXMiste* 28/143v; *Firenze* 20/20v; *Gradenigo* 76r, 143r, 178v, 293v, 294r; *Neff* 540; *Relaz* II/ii; *Sanuto* 1/763-64,

⁶⁰ Note that we only have a reference in *Gradenigo*, 314v, (and in no primary source) that **Giorgio Pisani** and **Girolamo Lion** went with **Francesco Capello** and **Zaccaria Contarini** to

1/17, 1/38, 2/481; *Sforzesco* 383 (2/5/1495); *SS* 30/32r, 32/25r, 34/122v, 34/211r, 35/33r, 36/78r, 36/148v; *Stampalia* 94v, 95r, 155r

Ambassadorial commissions

Maximilian 1493, *SS* 34/211r

Lion, Marino (Leono)

b c 1419-1502

son of **Andrea** di Nicolò and Altadonna, dau of Donato Arimondo; bro of Giacomo (pod of Verona)

1445 m Nobile, dau of Girardo Rargon da Cesena; father of **Girolamo**, Giovanni Antonio, Camilla (m **Ludovico Donato**); cousin of Nicolò

Ambassadorial posts

in obed to Alessandro VI 1492 with **Cristoforo Duodo**, **Sebastiano Badoer**, **Paolo Barbo di Andrea**

Other posts

prov in Friuli 1470; pod and cap of Feltre 1476; pod and cap of Crema 1482; prov 1483; CX 1485; duc el Marco Barbarigo 1485; savcons 1487; pod of Verona 1490; cons 1493; cons 1495; cons 1498; Proc d'Ultra 1500; duc el Leonardo Loredan 1501; CX 1502

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1437

Sources

Balla 2/292r; *Barbaro* IV/245, IV/253, IV/246; *Belluno* liv; *Collegio* 14/132v, 14/180r; *Crema* liii; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/162r; *CXMiste* 22/220v, 23/72v, 29/104v; *Gradenigo* 18r; *SAV7/2r*; *Sforzesco* 346 (2/1/1459), 379 (12/9/1492); *SS* 25/169v, 31/119r, 33/15r, 34/142v, 34/157v, 38/87r; *Stampalia* 215r; *Verona* lxxix

Mantua; *Stampalia* (94v) identifies Girolamo as ambassador to Milan in 1490, but this embassy has not been located in any other source and has been excluded.

Lion, Nicolò (Leone)

b c 1420

son of Giovanni di Nicolò and Franceschina, dau of Donato Contarini (m 1417); bro of Francesco, Domenico, Pietro, Antonio; cousin of Marino, nephew of Andrea

1442 m dau of Girardo Dandolo di Giacomo; 1451 m dau of Michiel Donato, widow of Andrea Soranzo; 1480 m dau Ludovico Honoradi, widow of Nicolò Contarini

Ambassadorial posts

Pesaro 1467

Other posts

savord 1468; savord 1469; pod and cap of Ravenna 1476; cons 1483; cap of Brescia 1484; cons 1484; cons 1491; savcons 1492; Proc d'Ultra 1495; savcons 1496; savcons 1497; also Duke of Candia

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1438

Sources

Balla 2/292r; *Barbaro* IV/253; *Brescia* liii; *Collegio* 13/49v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/85r, 2/1624-v; *CXMiste* 21/213r, 22/41v; *SAV*6/24v; *SS* 23/49v, 23/94r, 24/20v, 31/126r, 31/120v, 32/17r, 34/117r, 34/119r, 36/75r, 36/169r

Loredan, Antonio (Lauredano)⁶¹

miles

c 1444- 1514

son of Lorenzo di Bertucio and Maria, dau of Giovanni Contarini; bro of Pietro, Bartolomeo, Tomaso, Ludovico, Girolamo

1482 m dau of Giovanni Moro di Baldassar

⁶¹ Note that there are a number of near contemporary homonyms for this ambassador.

Ambassadorial posts

France 1480 (resident) in place of **Bertucio Gabriel**; France 1484;⁶² Rome 1485-86 with **Pietro Diedo**, **Ludovico Bragadin**, **Bernardo Bembo** and **Bernardo Theotino***, stayed on as resident (rumours that Loredan and Theotino were practising sodomy, recalled to Venice, convicted and exiled 1489-93); France 1494 with **Francesco della Guidecca*** and **Domenico Trevisan**; France 1498 with **Girolamo Giorgio**, **Nicolò Michiel**; Emperor 1501 with **Girolamo Donato**

Other posts

avog 1496; lt in Friuli 1499; savcons 1514; lt of Udine

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1462

Sources

Balla 2/291v; *Barbaro* IV/353; *Capi F.*2/516; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/170r; *Ferrara* 81; *Gradenigo* 107r; *Malipiero* 285; *Sanuto* 2/1334; *SAV6*/51v, 137r; *SAV7*/4v; *Stampalia* 161v, 162r, 167r, 215r; *SS* 29/147r; *Vite* 170

Ambassadorial commissions

France 1483, *SS* 31/26r; Rome 1485, *SS* 32/146r-47v; France 1494, *SS* 35/53r-55r; Emperor 1501, *SS* 38/131v

Loredan, Gabriel (Lauredano)

c 1411- 1485

son of Francesco di Paolo

1431 m dau of Ludovico Garzoni di Pesaro; 1452 m dau of **Andrea Lion** di Nicolò; 1462 m dau of Andrea Suriano di Francesco

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Lorraine 1483 with **Pietro Priuli**

⁶² *Gradenigo* (193r) argued that Loredan went to Ferdinand I, King of Aragon 1484; this has been excluded from the database as Loredan was already amb to France in this year.

Other posts

cap of Vicenza 1468; cons 1470; savtf 1471; pod of Brescia 1473; cons 1475; savcons 1476; cap of Padua 1476; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; savcons 1478; CX 1479; savcons 1479; savcons 1480; CX 1480; Proc d'Ultra 1480; savcons 1481; savcons 1482; savcons 1483; savcons 1484; savcons 1485

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1429

Sources

Balla 1/89r; *Barbaro* IV/319, IV/316; IV/337; *Brescia* li; *Capi F.1*/48; *Collegio* 12/23r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/814-v; 2/168r, 2/168v, 2/169r; *CXMiste* 19/215r, 19/227; *Gradenigo* 352r; *Padua* liii; *SAV6*/3r; *SS* 24/181r, 27/35r, 27/88r, 28/111v, 29/78v, 29/35v, 30/56v, 30/175v, 31/6v, 31/62v, 32/25r, 32/123v; *Stampalia* 7v; *Vicenza* xxxvii

Ambassadorial commissions

cap gen 1483, *SS* 30/175v-176v

Loredan, Giacomo (Lauredano)

fl 1400-1471

son of Pietro (cap gen of army) di Ludovico; bro of Maria (m Francesco Barbaro, mother of **Zaccaria Barbaro**), Francesco (cap gen in Alessandro), Ludovico (prov gen in Candia), Paolo, Luca, Lorenzo (prov gen in Candia); cousin of Ludovico
1419 m Beatrice di Francesco Marcello; father of Luca, Pietro (cap gen), Antonio (prov and hero of Scutari 1473; cap gen at sea 1475)

Ambassadorial posts

cap gen 1450 with Tomaso Duodo; in obed to Calixtus III 1455 with **Pasquale Malipiero**, **Triadano Gritti**, **Ludovico Foscari**⁶³ Rome 1471 (possibly refused this post)

⁶³ Note that *SS* (20/39r) refers to Giacomo Loredan *di Paolo* as ambassador to Rome 1455; *Barbaro* (IV/329) has no reference to this individual.

Other posts

savcons 1449; prov in Lombardy 1450; savcons 1450; lt in Friuli 1450; prov in Brescia 1452; CX 1452; savcons 1452; cap gen at sea 1453; savcons 1454; cap of Brescia 1455; CX 1456; savcons 1456; CX 1457; savcons 1457; savcons 1458; CX 1458; savcons 1459; savcons 1460; pod of Padua 1461; savcons 1463; cap gen at sea 1464; savcons 1464; savcons 1466; cap gen at sea 1467; savcons 1467; cap gen at sea 1467; Proc di Citra 1467; savcons 1469; savcons 1470

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1413

Sources

Ambrosiana (31/7/1464); *Balla* 1/85v; *Barbaro* IV/315, IV/329, IV/326; *Brescia* liii; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/80v, 2/167v; *CXMiste* 14/117r, 15/102r, 15/128r, 15/151r; *Friuli* lxi; *Gradenigo* 15v; *Padua* xlix; *SAV*4/81r, 146v, 147r, 147v, 148r, 145r; *SAV*6/89r; *SS* 20/62v, 20/83r, 20/176r, 20/206r, 21/138r, 22/5r, 22/35v, 23/132v, 23/166v, 24/10r, 24/108v, 25/29v, 25/60r; *Stampalia* 213v

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1455, *SS* 20/62v

Loredan, Ludovico (Lauredano)

doctor

1393-1466

son of Giovanni di Ludovico; cousin of **Giacomo**

1441 m Isabella, dau of Nicolò Cocco, widow of Benedetto Foscari; father of Marco, Nicolò (cap of galleys in Alessandria), Giovanni, Francesco (gov of galley to Ancona)

Ambassadorial posts

in obed Rome 1447 with Ludovico Venier, **Pasquale Malipiero**, **Zaccaria Trevisan**; cap gen 1448; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1454⁶⁴

⁶⁴ *Stampalia* (132r) notes that Loredan was ambassador to Naples in 1476; this reference has been excluded as Loredan died in 1466.

Other posts

Proc di Sopra 1442; cap gen at sea 1442; prov in campo 1448; cap gen at sea 1449; cap gen at sea 1463

Other information

Will dated 8/7/1424

Sources

Barbaro IV/315, IV/325; Cronaca Matrimonia 1/81r, 2/168v; Enc It XXI/496; Gradenigo 15r, 193r; Notarile Testamenti 1231/494 (Stefani); SAV4/20v

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1447, *SS 17/126v-129r*; cap gen 1448, *SS 18/20r-21r*; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1454, *SS 20/42r*

Malipiero, Pasquale (Maripietro Pasqualigo)

doge

c 1392-1462

son of Francesco di Fantino; bro of Girolamo, Domenico (pod of Vicenza 1386), Fantino, Bernardo, Giorgio, Giovanni, Pietro

1414 m Giovanna, dau of Antonio Dandolo di Benedetto; father of Lorenzo, Paolo, Antonio

Ambassadorial posts

in obed to Nicolas V 1447 with **Ludovico Loredan**, Ludovico Venier, **Zaccaria Trevisan**; Ferrara 1447, for peace conference with **Matteo Vettore**; Francesco Sforza 1447-48; Francesco Sforza 1449 (also performed diplomatic mission to Brescia); Ferrara 1450; Bologna 1451; in obed to Calixtus III 1455 with **Triadano Gritti**, **Ludovico Foscari**, **Giacomo Loredano**

Other posts

prov in campo 1438; prov 1440; pod of Padua 1441; Proc d'Ultra 1446; prov in Lombardy 1447-48; savcons 1448; savcons 1449; prov 1449; prov 1450; savcons 1450;

savcons 1451; sent to meet Emperor Frederick III 1452; prov in Brescia 1452 with **Orsato Giustiniani**; prov 1453; savcons 1454; savcons 1455; savcons 1456; doge 1457-62

Other information

Funeral monument; SS Giovanni e Paolo (see Plate 1)

Sources

Barbaro IV/407; Collegio 8/159v; Cosenza 3/2093; Cronaca Matrimonia 1/93r, 2/178r; Da Mosto 117-19; Enc It XXII/21; Gradenigo 15v, 264v, 292r, 356r; IBI 3/866; Mallett and Hale 172; Padua xlix; SAV4/146v, 148r, 145r; Sforzesco 342/64; SS 18/5r, 18/12r, 18/71r, 18/155v, 19/114r, 20/7r, 20/57v, 20/62v, 20/83r; Stampalia 28v, 89r, 213v

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1447, SS 17/126v-129r; Ferrara 1447, SS 14/148r-149v; Francesco Sforza 1447, SS 17/43r; Ferrara 1450, SS 18/174v; Emperor 1452, SS 19/115r-116r; Rome 1455, SS 20/62v

Marcello, Andrea

fl 1400-1469

son of Vettore di Giovanni; bro of Ludovico, Alessandro, Cristoforo (bailo Constantinople) 1418 m Teologia, dau of Giovanni Barbo di Nicolò; father of Lion, Giovanni, Sebastiano, Andrea (cap of the army)

Ambassadorial posts

Genoa 1443; Pesaro 1454

Other posts

pod and cap of Belluno 1445; savtf 1451; CX 1450; savtf 1451; savtf 1452; savtf 1453; CX 1453; pod and cap of Treviso 1453 with Paolo Aurelio*; cons 1456; pod and cap of Crema 1460; CX 1463; CX 1469

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1413

Sources

Balla 1/99r; *Barbaro* IV/477, IV/471; *Belluno* li; *Coll* 8/167r, 9/77r, 9/28r; *Crema* liii; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/186r; *CXMiste* 14/153r, 15/82v, 16/133r; *Enc It XXII*/215; *Gradenigo* 325v; *Neff* 364; *SAV4*/145r, 148r; *SS* 19/111r

Marcello, Girolamo

c 1447

son of Francesco (visdomino of Ferrara) di Giacomo Antonio and Anna, dau of Bartolomeo Lion (m 1443); bro of Bernardo (bishop of Faenza and patriarch) and Andrea; grandson of Giacomo Antonio Marcello (important prov and military cap); nephew of **Pietro**

Ambassadorial posts

Faenza 1479, replaced by **Girolamo Barbaro**; Duke of Austria 1486

Other posts

savord 1480; sind in Levant 1480 with Nicolò Stella*; prov in Friuli 1485; prov in campo 1487 with Marco Bevazan*; bailo Constantinople 1492; prov in campo 1498 with Marco Bevazan*

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1465

Sources

Balla 3/261r; *Barbaro* IV/461; *Collegio (lett sec)* F.1/237r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/187v, 2/187r; *Gradenigo* 232r; *Neff* 353, 376, 555-56; *SAV6*/90v; *SS* 29/130r, 33/36r, 33/85v, 34/126r; *Vite* 158

Ambassadorial commissions

Austria 1486, *SS* 33/36r-v

Marcello, Pietro⁶⁵

1447-1529

son of Giacomo Antonio (important prov and milit cap) di Francesco and Lucia, dau of Bartolomeo Lion; bro of Lorenzo, Valerio (Count of Zara; pod of Rovigo), Marco (pod), Taddeo, Francesco (visdomino of Ferrara) and sisters; uncle of **Girolamo**

Ambassadorial posts

Milan 1489;⁶⁶ Milan 1495;⁶⁷ Milan 1499⁶⁸

Other posts

CX 1472; CX 1474; prov in War of Ferrara 1482; pod of Vicenza 1491; prov in Urbino 1498-99 with Marco di Santi*; prov in campo 1498-99; prov in Lombardy 1500; cap of Bergamo 1501; savtf 1501; avog 1501; duc el Leonardo Loredan 1501; avog 1504; pod of Padua 1506; cap of Candia 1507; prov in campo 1514; cap at Verona 1519; prov gen 1519

Other information

Balla d'Oro; 1465

Funeral monument; S Cristoforo della Pace

Sources

Balla 3/261r; *Barbaro* IV/461; *Collegio (commissioni) reg* 1482-95/14v; *CXMiste* 17/187r, 17/138r, 29/61r; *Gradenigo* 293r, 295r 314v; *Neff* 540; *SAV*6/21v, 58r; *SAV*7/4v; *Sforzesco* 1270 (9/8/1498); *SS* 30/83r, *Stampalia* 84v, 94v; *Valerio* 203-208

Marino, Carlo (Marino)

b c 1399

⁶⁵ For a contemporary homonym (Pietro Marcello di Antonio) see *King* 398

⁶⁶ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (293r) and *Stampalia* (94v).

⁶⁷ This embassy is only referred to in *Stampalia* 84v, and is uncorroborated by any primary source.

⁶⁸ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (295r); note, however, that it might refer to the post of prov in Lombardy which Pietro Marcello held in 1500.

son of Rosso (pod of Padua) di Pietro; bro of Alessandro, Giovanni (doctor and savtf), Antonio, Paolo, Tomaso

1422 m Cristina, dau of Domenico Malipiero di Donato; father of Domenico (cap of Padua; Proc di Citra 1505), Rosso, Francesco

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Modena 1453-54; Milan 1456

Other posts

pod and cap of Treviso 1448; CX 1450; savtf 1450; pod of Verona 1451; cons 1451; savtf 1453; cons 1454; savtf 1454; cap of Brescia 1454-55; savcons 1456; cap of Brescia 1456; savcons 1457; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; pod of Verona 1458; avog 1459; CX 1461; savcons 1461; CX 1463; savcons 1463; cons 1464

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1417

Sources

Balla 1/104v; *Barbaro* IV/495, IV/497; *Brescia* liii; *Collegio* 8/140v, 9/23r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/193r; *CXMiste* 14/17r, 15/11r, 16/65r, 16/113r; *Gradenigo* 310v, 313v; *SAV4*/147v, 148r, 145r; *Sforzesco* 342 (8/1455), 343 (4/1456); *SS* 19/217v, 20/3r, 20/4v, 20/8r, 20/113r, 20/114v, 20/119v, 21/32v, 21/168v, 22/26r; *Treviso* liv; *Verona* lxxix

Mezzo, Giacomo da (Jacopo de Medio)

miles

fl 1450-1485

son of Francesco di Giorgio and dau of Giovanni Contarini; bro of Francesco

Ambassadorial posts

Cyprus 1470; refused post in Persia 1471; Duke of Burgundy 1475; Rome 1477-78, after post was refused by Francesco Giustiniani; refused post to Milan 1479; Imperial Diet at Graz 1478 (Antonio Donato refused the post); amb/prov to cap gen 1482; Duke of Lorraine 1483

Other posts

savord 1457; CX 1478; bailo Constantinople 1479; prov in Romagna 1481; savtf 1483; prov in campo 1485

Sources

Barbaro V/60; *Capi* F.2/197; *Collegio* 12/55r; *Gradenigo* 36v, 352r; *Lorenzo* 3/196, 3/31, 3/68, 3/168, 3/196, 3/199-200, 3/265, 4/221; *Malipiero* 668; *SS* 20/133r, 27/110v, 30/101v, 30/175v, 31/3r; *Magg* 23/196r; *Sforzesco* 365 (9/3/1479), 365 (23/3/1479), 367 (5/10/1478); *Stampalia* 7v, 8v, 193v, 227v; *Vite* 76

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1476, *SS* 27/70r, 27/119v-123r; Graz 1478, *SS* 28/129r-v; cap gen 1482, *CXMiste* 20/159v, *SS* 30/86v-87r; cap gen 1483, *SS* 30/175v-176v;

Michiel, Francesco (Michele)

fl 1450-1483

son of Giovanni (pod of Vicenza 1436) di Francesco; bro of Paolo, Antonio, Cristoforo, Nicolò, Benedetto, Girolamo and Taddea (m doge **Giovanni Mocenigo**)

1468 m Maria, dau of **Candiano Bollani** di Maffeo

Ambassadorial posts

refused post in Persia 1471; Naples 1477 with Nicolò Pesaro, after Bertucio Gabriel refused the post⁶⁹

Other posts

cap of Vicenza 1458; savord 1466; savord 1470; savord 1471; prov in Ferrara 1471; prov in Tuscany 1478/9; savtf 1481; amb/prov to cap gen 1482; savtf 1482; prov in Ravenna 1483

⁶⁹ *Stampalia* (153r) notes that Michiel was ambassador to Persia in 1473- there is no corroboration for this in any other source and it has been excluded from the database; *Stampalia* also notes (7r) that Michiel was ambassador to the cap-gen with Zaccaria Barbaro in 1482, again as I have not been able to corroborate the mission it has been excluded (note also that it may refer to a mission of Nicolò Michiel to the cap-gen in 1482 (*Gradenigo*, 352v and *Stampalia*, 7r).

Sources

Barbaro V/101; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/204v; *Gradenigo* 352r; *Lorenzo* 3/324, 3/338, 3/343, 6/347, 6/351, 6/353-57; *Sforzesco* 364 (9/7/1477), 364 (28/7/1477), 367 (mid July 1478); *SS* 22/161v, 23/7r, 24/153r, 24/187v, 25/33r, 28/115v; 28/143r-v, 28/34v, 30/34v, 30/72r, 30/115r, 30/151r; 31/66r; *Vicenza* xxxvii

Ambassadorial commissions

Naples 1477, *SS* 28/43r-44v

Michiel, Maffeo (Michele)

b c 1433

son of Fantin (amb to Rome in 1430s) di Maffeo and dau of Vitale Lando; bro of Giovanni, Nicolò, Antonio, Fantin

1419 m Elisabetta, dau of Nicolò Morosini di Paolo; father of Girolamo and Fantin

Ambassadorial posts

Sultan of Babylon 1460-61

Other posts

cons 1457; CX 1461; CX 1462; CX 1463; savcons 1464

Other information

Balla D'Oro: 1451

Sources

Balla 2/315r; *Barbaro* V/126; *Collegio* 9/96v, 10/6r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/203r, 2/202v; *CXMiste* 15/110v, 15/120v, 16/151v, 16/77r, 16/95v; *Gradenigo* 210r; *SAV* 5/39r; *SS* 21/38v, 22/50v; *Stampalia* 122r

Michiel, Nicolò (Michele)

doctor miles

b c 1443

son of Domenico (savtf and pod of Vicenza 1448) di Marco and Elisabetta, dau of Benedetto Marcello; bro of Ludovico and Lion

1466 m Dea, dau of Maffeo Contarini; father of Domenico, Simon, Maffeo (cap of Bergamo), Vincenzo, Giovanni, Pietro

Ambassadorial posts

Counts of Segna 1468-69 with Ludovico Manenti; King of Aragon 1476; Castile 1477; cap gen 1482;⁷⁰ Rome 1486⁷¹ replaced by Pietro Diedo; Rome 1491; Naples 1492-93 (resident) travelled part of the way with Andrea Capello, amb to Rome; Rome 1496 (resident) replaced by Girolamo Donato; France 1498-99 with Antonio Loredan, Girolamo Giorgio and Girolamo della Sega; France 1499-50 with Girolamo della Stella, Nicolò Foscari, Benedetto Giustiniani, Benedetto Trevisan; refused mission to Hungary 1500; Ferrara 1501 with Francesco Morosini; Duke of Ferrara 1505, with Tomaso Mocenigo (elected)

Other posts

pod in Vicenza 1479; CX 1490; avog 1491; pod and cap of Brescia 1494; CX 1496; avog 1497; cons 1498; avog 1498; avog 1499; Proc di Citra 1500; duc el Leonardo Loredan 1501

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1461

Funeral monument; SS Giovanni e Paolo

Sources

Balla 2/171r; *Barbaro* V/120; *Brescia* liii; *Collegio* 11/44v; *Cosenza* 3/2308; *Collegio (lett sec)* 6/101r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/204v; *CXMiste* 24/193v, 28/60r, 40/92v; *DBI* 18/739; *Firenze* 24/16r; *Gradenigo* 37r, 38r, 109r, 140r, 311v, 352r, 389r-v; *Magg* 24/168v, 24/132v; *Neff* 466, 545; *Sanuto* 1/820, 1/503, 1/816; *SAV6*/135r; *SAV7*/4v; *Sforzesco* 378 (24/2/1492); *SS* 24/17r, 28/27r, 34/122r, 34/135r, 35/232v, 38/98v, 38/197r, 40/92v; *Stampalia* 4r, 7r, 95r, 127r, 227v; *Vicenza* xxxv

⁷⁰ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (352v) and *Stampalia* (7r); according to the latter, Michiel went to the cap-gen with Pietro Molin

⁷¹ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (37r) and *Stampalia* (227r)

Ambassadorial commissions

Segna 1469, *SS* 24/17r-v; Castile 1477, *SS* 28/27r; Rome 1496, *SS* 36/29v; France 1498, *SS* 37/37r-v; France 1499, *SS* 37/142r

Minio, Giovanni Antonio

fl 1450-1501

son of Nicolò di Michiel and Bianca, dau of Nicolò Lanza di Bartolomeo (m 1445); bro of Francesco, Luca

1466 m dau of Francesco Baffo di Luca; 1500 m dau of Marco Valier, dau of Cesare Malipiero; father of Giovanni Francesco, Tiberio, Girolamo, Anzolo, Giovanni Antonio

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Wallachia 1470 with Pietro Tarallo*

Other posts

prov in Morea late 1470s; savord 1481; savord 1482

Other information

Was a well-respected lawyer, defended Antonio Grimani in the Great Council trial of 1500; 1501 spoke in opposition to the government over reductions in government salaries; was sentenced to confinement on the island of Arbe in Dalmatia by the Council of Ten without trial and died in exile.

Sources

Barbaro V/151; *Collegio* 11/52v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/214r-v, 2/2i5r; *Finlay* 77-79; *Lorenzo* 6/347; *Neff* 558; *SS* 30/38r, 30/98v

Mocenigo, Giovanni

doge (for portrait see Plate 3)

1408-1485

son of Leonardo (Proc SM) di Pietro and Francesca, dau of Ludovico Foscari di Francesco, widow of Andrea Gritti; bro of Francesco, Nicolò (savcons and ProcSM), Marco, **Pietro**; grandfather of Tomaso (amb many times, including to Pope and Turkey); nephew of Tomaso (doge and amb to Hungary 1409)

1432 m Taddea, dau of Giovanni Michiel di Francesco (sister of **Francesco Michiel**); father of Leonardo (amb in the 16th century) and Lucrezia (m **Antonio Dandolo**)

Ambassadorial posts

Prince of Caramania 1453; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1477⁷²

Other posts

cap of galley 1455; pod of Ravenna 1463; pod of Treviso 1467; avog 1469; lt in Friuli 1470; avog 1472; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; prov in Friuli 1477; doge 1478-85

Sources

Barbaro V/175, V/179, V/186-87; *Betto* 34; *Collegio (commissioni) reg.* 1482-95/181v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/238v; *Enc It XXIII*/501; *IBI* 3/950; *SAV6*/51v; *SS* 28/72v; *Tiepolo* 222r-v; *Vite* 119

Mocenigo, Pietro

doge

1406-1476

son of Leonardo (Proc di Sopra) di Pietro and Francesca, dau of Ludovico Foscari di Nicolò, widow of Andrea Gritti; bro of Marco, Nicolò (savcons and ProcSM), Francesco, **Giovanni**

m Laura, dau of Giovanni Giorgio di Bernardo; father of Filippo (illegitimate)

⁷² This reference is from *Barbaro* V/187; it is clearly incorrect as Colleoni is dead by this date-*Barbaro* may have meant that Mocenigo was sent to the 'cap-gen'.

Ambassadorial posts

in obed, to Pope Paul II 1464 with Triadano Gritti, Ludovico Foscari, Vettore Capello, Girolamo Barbargio, Zaccaria Trevisan, Nicolò Soranzo, Andrea Lion, Nicolò Tron, Hector Pasqualigo

Other posts

cap gen at sea 1448; savtf 1452; savtf 1453; savtf 1454; CX 1454; savtf 1455; cons 1455; cons 1456; CX 1456; CX 1459; savtf 1459; CX 1460; cons 1461; CX 1462; CX 1463; cons 1464; cons 1465; avog 1466; savcons 1467; savcons 1468; savcons 1469; savcons 1470; cap gen at sea 1470; Proc di Citra 1471; fought Turks 1471-74; cap-gen at sear 1473; savcons 1474; doge 1474-76

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1424

Will dated 12/2/1475

Funeral monument; SS Giovanni e Paolo (see Plate 4)

Sources

Balla 1/96r; *Barbaro* V/172, V/187; *Betto* 34; *Capi F.*1/72; *Cosenza* 3/2330; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/238v; *CXMiste* 15/26r, 15/115v, 15/191v, 16/47v, 17/69r, 17/114r, 14/128r; *Da Mosto* 130-133; *Enc It XXIII*/501; *Gradenigo* 16v; *IBI* 3/950; *Notarile Testamenti* 1195/2 (Brachi); *SAV*4/147r, 148r, 148v; *SAV*6/89r, 9r; *SS* 20/3r, 20/6r, 20/57v, 22/37r, 22/62v, 23/61r, 23/97r, 23/166v, 24/12r, 24/89v, 24/141r; *Stampalia* 214r; *Tiepolo* 219v; *Vite* 4

Molin, Pietro (de Molino)⁷³

doctor

c 1430-after May 1482

son of Giovanni; bro of Zaccaria, Andrea, Girolamo, Giovanni Francesco, Pietro

1464 m dau of Antonio Querini di Stefano, 1480 m dau of Antonio Collato di Bartolomeo

⁷³ Note that there are many homonyms- see references in *King* 403.

Ambassadorial posts

Duke Stefano of Santa Sava 1464-66; Emperor Frederick III (Verona) 1469 with **Francesco Giustiniani, Domenico Moro, Zaccaria Barbaro**; Milan 1470 with **Francesco Giustiniani** for wedding of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Bona, dau of Duke of Savoy; Croatia 1472-73; Florence 1477 (resident) replaced **Bernardo Bembo**⁷⁴

Other posts

pod and cap of Verona 1465; pod and cap of Belluno 1469; pod and cap of Justinopolis 1473; savord 1473

Education/intellectual interests

educated at Padua from 1456; initially a student of arts, but eventually held doctorates in arts and law; finally taught law at Padua

noted by King as humanist

Letters from Marsilio Ficino

Sources

Barbaro V/224; *Collegio* 12/65r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/230r; *Gradenigo* 292v, 75v; *King* 403-05; *Lorenzo* 2/374, 2/197, 2/212, 2/263, 2/372-74; *Magg* 23/68r; *SS* 25/153v, 26/46r, 27/58r; *Stampalia* 66r

Ambassadorial commissions

Emperor 1469, *SS* 23/149r; Croatia 1472, *SS* 25/178r; Florence 1475, *SS* 27/74r

Moro, Cristoforo (Mauro Maurus)

doge

1390-1471

son of Lorenzo di Giacomo; bro of Nicolò; related to **Domenico** and **Giovanni**; uncle of **Francesco** and **Leonardo Sanuto**

m 1412 Cristina, dau of Leonardo Sanuto di Marino

⁷⁴ *Stampalia* (7r) notes that Molin was ambassador to the cap-gen with Niccolo Michiel- this is uncorroborated by any other source.

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1453-54 **Orsato Guistiniani**

Other posts

pod of Belluno 1432; cap of Brescia 1436; cap of Padua 1442; cap of Padua 1442; cons 1444; avog 1447; savcons 1448; Proc d'Ultra 1448; savcons 1450; savcons 1451; savcons 1452, savcons 1453, savcons 1454, savcons 1455, savcons 1456; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; savcons 1457; savcons 1458; savcons 1460; savcons 1461; doge 1462-71

Other information

Will dated 1/9/1470

Funeral monument; S Giobbe

Sources

Barbaro V/262, V/260, V/277; *Cicogna* 6(2)/573; *Collegio* 8/2r, 8/8r; *Cosenza* 3/2246; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/107r, 2/235r; *Da Mosto* 119-20; *Enc It XXIII*/865; *Gradenigo* 15r-v; *IBI* 3/973; *Notarile Testamenti* 1238/188; *Padua* liii; *SAV4*/146v, 148v; *SS* 18/3r, 19/54r, 19/120v, 19/196v, 20/12r, 20/99v, 20/49v

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1453, *SS* 19/217r

Moro, Domenico (Mauro Maurus)

miles

fl 1425-1495

son of Antonio di Ludovico and Barbara, dau of Giovanni Moro; bro of **Giovanni** and **Gabriel**; related to **Cristoforo Moro** (grandfather's brother's son)

1440 m dau of Ludovico Pisani di Pietro

Ambassadorial posts

Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg (Verona) 1469 with **Francesco Giustiniani**, **Zaccaria Barbaro**, **Pietro Molin**

Other posts

pod of Vicenza 1459; pod and cap of Treviso 1466; cap of Brescia 1468; cons 1478; savcons 1480; savcons 1481; savcons 1482; savcons 1483; savtf 1486; CX 1491; savcons 1495

Sources

Barbaro V/277; *Brescia* liii; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/235r; *CXMiste* 25/56r; *Gradenigo* 175v; *SS* 28/138r, 29/151v, 30/51r, 30/164v, 31/1r, 32/188r, 32/13r, 35/118r; *Treviso* liv; *Vicenza* xxxv

Ambassadorial commissions

Emperor 1468, *SS* 23/149r

Moro, Giovanni (Mauro Maurus)⁷⁵

miles

fl 1420-1466

son of Antonio di Ludovico and Barbara, dau of Giovanni Moro; bro of **Domenico** and **Gabriel**; related to **Cristoforo Moro**

1436 m dau of Domenico de Ponte; 1438 m Elena, dau of Lorenzo Priuli di Constantine; father of Cristina (m **Antonio Boldù**)

Ambassadorial posts

Siena 1451-52; King of Aragon 1453-54

Other posts

pod of Vicenza 1451; savtf 1453; savtf 1455; savtf 1456; cap of Vicenza 1466

Sources

Barbaro V/277; *Brescia* li; *Bergamo* xxxix; *Collegio* 8/168v, 12/21r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/235; *Dolfin* 440r; *Enc It* XXIII/865; *Gradenigo* 139v; *Magg* 22/189r,

⁷⁵ According to *Barbaro* (V/273, V/277), there is at least one homonym- Giovanni Moro di Baldassar who was Proc SM in 1493. *Enc It* (XXIII/865) identifies them as the same person.

22/193v; *SAV4*/147r, 148r; *Sforzesco* 364 (22/4/1477); *SS* 19/100v, 20/3r, 20/16r, 20/83r, 30/114v, 32/188r, 34/61r; *Vicenza* xxxv

Ambassadorial commissions

Siena 1451, *SS* 19/100v-101r; King of Aragon 1453, *SS* 19/201r

Morosini, Barbone (Maurocensus Mauroceno Mauroceni)

doctor

c 1414-1457/8

son of Barbone (amb/prov in Lombardy early 15th century) di Marco and Elisabetta, dau of Lorenzo Soranzo; bro of Marco and Girolamo; uncle of Giustiniani

1441 m Suordamor, dau of Giovanni Molin; father of Giovanni Antonio and Bernardo

Ambassadorial posts

Bologna 1446-47; Florence 1448; Ferrara 1450 with **Andrea Dandolo**; Naples 1452-53; Rome and Naples 1455-56

Other posts

Count of Trau 1450; savtf 1451; CX 1451-52; savtf 1452; cap of Verona 1453; savtf 1455; pod of Bergamo 1457-58

Education/ intellectual interests

studied at Padua; doctorate in arts 1434, doctorate in laws 1442; served as vice-rector of jurists 1439; perhaps professor of law 1442-43

noted by King as humanist

Letters: correspondents include Francesco Barbaro, Maffeo Vallaresso; also received letters from **Ludovico Foscari** and Leonardo Giustiniani

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1432

Sources

Balla 2/302v; *Barbaro* VI/323; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/219v, 2/217r; *King* 407-08; *SS* 19/16r

Ambassadorial commissions

Bologna 1446, *SS* 17/31r; Ferrara 1450, *SS* 19/11r-v; Naples 1455, *SS* 20/79v-80v

Morosini, Giustinani (Maurocensus Mauroceno Mauroceni)

c 1447- 1529

son of Marco di Barbone and Orsa, dau of Andrea Morosini di Michiel; nephew of

Barbone Morosini

1468 m Veronica, dau of Ruzzier Contarini di Andrea; father of Barbone and Andrea

Ambassadorial posts

Marquis of Monferrato 1483

Other posts

prov in Pisa 1496-97; prov 1508; pod of Gorizia 1509; duc el Andrea Gritti 1523

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1465

Sources

Balla 3/217r; *Barbaro* VI/290, VI/324; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/221r, 2/220r; *Mallett and Hale* 175; *SS* 31/60v

Ambassadorial commissions

Marquis of Monferrato 1483, *SS* 31/73v-74r

Morosini, Marcantonio (Maurocensus Mauroceno Mauroceni)

miles

c 1435-1509

son of Roberto di Marco and Fresca, dau of Leonardo Conarini di Pietro; bro of Carlo; cousin of Domenico Morosini (humanist and politician); nephew of Silvestro (amb to Charles VII in 1431)

1458 m dau of Luca Soranzo di Cristoforo; 1499 m dau of Pietro Donato Molino, widow of Giorgio Pisani

Ambassadorial posts

Burgundy 1474-75; Florence 1479; Milan 1485-87; Rome and Naples 1488-90 (in Rome with **Domenico Trevisan**); Milan 1495-97; Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg 1496 for conference at Vigevano with Antonio Grimani and Giorgio Franco*

Other posts

CX 1476-77; pod and cap of Crema 1477; CX 1480; savtf 1480; pod of Bergamo 1481; savtf 1482; prov to Duke of Lorraine 1483; pod of Brescia 1484; avog 1485; avog 1487-88; CX 1490-91; pod of Verona 1491; avog 1493-94; cap of Padua 1494-95; prov with army 1495; CX 1497-98; cons 1498-99; prov in field in Brescia and Cremona 1499; savcons 1499; cap of Cremona 1499; savcons 1500-01; cons 1501-02; savcons 1502-03; Proc di Sopra 1503; savcons 1503; savcons 1504; savcons 1505; savcons 1506; savcons 1507

Education/Intellectual interests

noted by King as humanist

Letters from Matteo Bosso, Pietro Dolfino, Bernardino Gadolo; many humanist works dedicated to him

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1453

Sources

Balla 2/311v; *Barbaro* VI/284, VI/383; *Coll* 15/3r; *Collegio (lett sec)* vol 6/78v, *F.* 1/95r, *F.* 1/102r; *Cosenza* 3/2244; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/222r, 2/220r; *Firenze* 22/64v; *King* 410-12; *Lorenzo* 2/510; *Neff* 439, 495; *RelazIII*/iii; *Sanuto* 1/1013, 1/835, 1/804, 2/1373; *SS* 31/29r; *Stampalia* 94v, 132r

Ambassadorial commissions

Burgundy 1474, *SS* 26/91v; Milan 1486, *SS* 32/195v-196r; Rome 1488, *SS* 33/171r-172r; Emperor 1496, *SS* 36/72r-73v

Morosini, Paolo (Maurocensus Mauroceno Mauroceni)

c 1406-c 1482

son of Zilio (doctor and miles) di Andrea (amb to King of Hungary 1347) and Franceschina; bro of Lorenzo, Giovanni, Andrea, Antonio, Michiel

1427 m Anna, dau of Giovanni Falier di Marco; father of Giovanni, Marco, **Pietro**

Ambassadorial posts

Istria 1451; Rhodes 1453; Rome 1453; Ferrara 1459; Duke Stefano of Santa Sava 1461; Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg 1462; Poland and Bohemia 1463; Austria 1464; Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg 1468 with **Antonio Priuli**; refused mission to Rome 1469; Diet of Ratisbon 1471; Rome 1474-75 (stopped off in Florence en route and travelled with **Bernardo Bembo** who stayed on as resident in Florence); Ferrara 1475 with **Marco Barbarigo**; Naples 1476; Rome 1476

Other posts

castellan of Coron 1449; pod and cap of Feltre 1451; savtf 1451-52; prov to Frederick III 1452; savtf 1454; pod and cap of Crema 1454; pod and cap of Crema 1456; savtf 1459; savtf 1460; savtf 1461-62; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; savtf 1462-63; CX 1463-64; savtf 1464; cap of Vicenza 1464; pod of Treviso 1465-66; savtf 1466; CX 1466-67; prov to Medit colonies 1467; avog 1467-68; prov in Romagna 1469; CX 1469; savtf 1470; prov in Brescia 1470-71; prov to examine terraferma fortifications 1472; savcons 1472; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; savcons 1473; savcons 1474; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; cons 1474; savcons 1475; savcons 1476; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; prov in Friuli 1477; savcons 1477; savcons 1477-78; cons 1478

Education/Intellectual interests

praised as learned by Francesco Foscari and Giovanni Morosini; studied at Padua c 1431; refused doctorate in arts; studied Hebrew

noted by King as humanist

Letters from **Ludovico Foscari** and **Antonio Vinciguerra***

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1424

Funeral monument: S. Gregorio

Sources

Balla 1/163v; *Barbaro* VI/289, VI/375; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/218v; *IBI* 2/974; *King* 412-13; *Lorenzo* 1/314, 2/85, 2/48, 2/87-89; *Magg* 23/36r, 23/58r; *Malipiero* 67; *Sforzesco* 342 (2/1455), 345 (3/1458); *SS* 23/153r, 27/109v; *Stampalia* 27r, 66r, 113r, 132r, 139r, 140r, 148r, 214v, 227v

Ambassadorial commissions

Austria 1462, *SS* 21/94v; Emperor 1462, *SS* 23/151r; Emperor 1468, *SS* 25/20v-22r

Morosini, Pietro (Maurocensus Mauroceno Mauroceni)

miles

c 1430

son of **Paolo** di Zilio (doctor and miles) and Anna, dau of Giovanni Falier di Marco; bro of Marco and Giovanni

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Savoy and Marquis of Monferrato 1451-52 with **Marco Donato**; Modena 1454; refused embassy to Turkey 1460; Brescia 1461; Rome 1467-68 with **Giovanni Soranzo**

Other posts

prov in Asola 1455; savtf 1466; savtf 1467; cap of Verona 1468; cap of Vicenza 1483

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1448

Sources

Balla 2/308v; *Barbaro* VI/375; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/218v; *Gradenigo* 16v, 36r; *Magg* 23/8r; *SAV6* 18v, *SAV6* 58r; *Sforzesco* 342 (4/1485), 345 (8/1458); *SS* 20/48r, 21/52v, 21/53r, 23/23r, 23/12r, 23/77r, 23/119r; *Stampalia* 227r

Ambassadorial commissions

Savoy and Monferrato 1451, *SS* 19/76v; Rome 1467, *SS* 23/46r

Pasqualigo, Ettore (Pasquale)

fl 1400-1466

son of Giovanni di Orio; bro of Bernardo, Pietro, Nicolò, Paolo, Alessandro, Daniel;
related to **Giovanni Francesco Pasquale**

1418 m Elisabetta, dau of Pietro Zon, widow of Vitale Miani; father of Nicolò and
Bernardo

Ambassadorial posts

in obed to Pope Paul II 1464 with Triadano Gritti, Ludovico Foscari, Girolamo
**Barbarigo, Vettore Capello, Andrea Lion, Zaccaria Trevisan, Nicolò Soranzo, Pietro
Mocenigo, Nicolò Tron**

Other posts

CX 1445; pod of Brescia 1452; cons 1453; pod of Verona 1453; cons 1455; cons 1456;
cons 1459; It in Friuli 1459; cons 1462; pod of Brescia 1463; cons 1465; cons 1466; pod
of Verona 1466

Sources

Barbaro VII/21; *Brescia* li; *Collegio* 8/185r, 9/62r, 9/77r, 9/163r, 9/168r, 10/60r, 10/135r,
10/146r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/119v, 2/255r; *CXMiste* 13/3r, 14/154v, 15/82v, 16/101v;
Friuli lix; *Gradenigo* 16v; *SS* 20/187r, 21/99r, 22/37r; *Stampalia* 214r; *Verona* lxxix

Pasqualigo, Giovanni Francesco (Pasquale Johannifrancesco)

doctor miles

b c 1445

son of Ludovico di Bernardo and Elisabetta, dau of Vielmo Marcanova Medico; related to
Ettore Pasqualigo

1466 m dau of **Zaccaria Trevisan** di Giovanni; 1472 m dau of Luca Navagier di Michiel

Ambassadorial posts

Faenza 1477; Genoa 1480 with Giorgio Negro*, Genoa 1482-84 replaced by **Giorgio
Pisani**; Milan 1491-92 (resident) replaces **Paolo Trevisan**, replaced by **Benedetto
Trevisan**; Mantua 1493

Other posts

CX 1476; pod and cap of Feltre 1484; savtf 1493; avog 1493; visdomino Ferrara 1494; savcons 1494; cons 1497; avog 1497; avog 1498; cons 1498

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1463

Sources

Balla 3/286r; *Barbaro* VI/21; *Belluno* liv; *Capi F.*2/370; *Collegio* 14/37r; *Collegio (lett sec)* 5/33v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/119v, 2/255r-v; *CXMiste* 18/217r, 27/25v, 27/201v; *Gradenigo* 293v, 326r; *Samuto* 1/852; *SAV*7/4v; *SAV*6/17v, 135r; *Sforzesco* 365 (last day February 1479), 377 (9/7/1491), 382 (20/6/1494); *SS* 28/79r, 29/84r, 34/164r, 34/180v; 36/73r; *Stampalia* 56r

Ambassadorial commissions

Genoa 1480, *SS* 29/84r-v; Genoa 1482, *SS* 30/141v-142r

Pesaro, Benedetto (de ca'Pesaro Dechadepesaro)

c 1432- 1503

son of Pietro di Andrea and Franceschina, dau of Nicolò Tron di Pasquale; bro of Marco, Giacomo, Antonio, Girolamo, Nicolò, Alessandro; related to **Maffeo** and **Nicolò**
1465 m Isabella, dau of Pietro Duodo di Cristoforo; father of Girolamo (cap gen at sea 1529, amb to Pope Paul III, amb to Emperor 1532)

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Lorraine 1483 with **Bernardo Bembo**

Other posts

cons 1498; CX 1498; CX 1499; cons 1499; cap gen at sea 1500; Proc di Sopra 1501; cap gen at sea 1503

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1450, by father

Will dated 11/7/1503

Sources

Balla 2/364r; *Barbaro* V/83, V/68; *Coll* 15/9r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/58r, 2/260r-v; *CXMiste* 27/264r, 27/235v; *Gradenigo* 299r; *Notarile Testamenti* 1227/74; *SAV*6/88v; *SS* 39/107r; *Stampalia* 7v, 101r

Ambassadorial commissions

Duke of Lorraine 1483, *SS* 31/44r

Pesaro, Maffeo (de ca'Pesaro Dechadepesaro)

b c 1415

son of Secondo di Maffeo and Maria, dau of Tomaso Michiel; bro of Nicolò; distantly related to Nicolò and Benedetto

1438 m Chiara, dau of Francesco Capello di Giovanni; father of Alessandro and Alessandro

Ambassadorial posts

King of Tunis 1455

Other posts

savord 1449

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1433

Will dated 14/1/1458

Sources

Balla 1/122v; *Barbaro* 6/80; *Collegio* 9/73v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/260r; *Notarile Testamenti* 1149/27; *SAV*4/145r; *SAV*7/47v

Pesaro, Nicolò (de ca'Pesaro Dechadepesaro)

c 1429- 1484

son of Pietro di Andrea and Franceschina, dau of Nicolò Tron di Pasquale (m 1428); bro of Marco, Giacomo, Antonio, Benedetto, Girolamo, Alessandro; related to **Benedetto and Maffeo**

1463 m Orsa, dau of Giovanni Capello di Giorgio; father of Pietro (Proc d'Ultra) and Andrea

Ambassadorial posts

Romagna 1462-63; Friuli and Faenza 1469; King of Naples with **Francesco Michiel** 1477 after **Bertucio Gabriel** refused the post

Other posts

savord 1461; savord 1462; savord 1463; CX 1478; cap of Vicenza 1479; CX 1480; CX 1482; CX 1483; prov with **Luca Pisani** 1484

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1447

Dispacci; ASV, Senato, Letteri di Rettori ed Altre Cariche, Dispacci al Senato, B.2, Luca Pisani and Nicolò Pesaro, provveditori presso Roberto di Sanseverino (July 7-September 1484)

Sources

Balla 2/364r; *Barbaro* VI/83; *Collegio (lett sec)* vol 5/5r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/260v; *CXMiste* 19/123v, 20/56r, 20/204; *Lorenzo* 7/414, 7/235; *Neff* 443; *Rettori busta* 2/F. 27; *SAV* 6/58v; *Sforzesco* 364 (28/7/1477), 364 (29/7/1477); *SS* 21/55v, 21/79r, 21/118r, 21/136v, 23/43r, 24/23r, 24/26r, 28/43r, 28/115v; 32/61r, 32/83v, 34/134v, 34/155r; *Wien* 279r (21/2/1473)

Ambassadorial commissions

Romagna 1462, *SS* 21/131v; Friuli and Faenza 1469, *SS* 24/23r; Naples 1477, *SS* 28/43r-44v

Pisani, Giorgio (Pisanus)

doctor miles

b c 1452

son of Giovanni di Nicolò and Francesca, dau of Federico Corner; bro of Bernardin and Domenico (amb to Spain 1501)

Ambassadorial posts

Naples 1484 with **Pietro Soranzo, Antonio Loredan**;⁷⁶ Genoa 1484-85, replaced **Giovanni Francesco Pasquale**; Mantua 1490 with **Zaccaria Contarini, Francesco Capello di Cristoforo, Girolamo Lion**;⁷⁷ Spain 1492 with **Girolamo Lion**; Milan 1493-94, replaces **Benedetto Trevisan**; Ferrara 1493 with **Zaccaria Contarini**; Emperor and King of the Romans 1497 with **Giorgio Franco*** (resident); Hungary 1500 with **Sebastiano Giustiniani and Giorgio Franco***, after **Nicolò Michiel and Zaccaria Contarini** refused; Naples 1506 with **Marco Dandolo**; Rome 1509

Other posts

avog 1504; savtf 1510; cons 1511

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1470

Wills dated 14/1/1520, 30/8/1524, 17/4/1524

Sources

Balla 3/282v; *Barbaro VI*/129; *Collegio (lett sec)* 6/156; *Gradenigo* 85v, 102v, 143r, 178v, 193r, 196r, 293v, 326r, 193r; *Neff* 439; *Notarile Testamenti* 1183/209; *RelazIII*/iv; *SAV7*/5r; *Sforzesco* 381 (7/11/1493); *SS* 34/122r, 34/173v, 34/195r, 36/153r, 38/98v, 40/203v; *Stampalia* 56r, 95r, 155r

Ambassadorial commissions

Milan 1483, *SS* 34/211v; Ferrara 1483, *Collegio (commissioni) reg* 1482-95/179r-80r; Emperor 1497, *SS* 36/150r-151r; Hungary 1500, *SS* 38/112r; King of Aragon 1506, *SS* 40/215r

⁷⁶ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (193r)

⁷⁷ Note that we only have a reference in *Gradenigo*, 341v, (and in no primary sources) that Pisani and Capello went with Contarini to Mantua.

Pisani, Luca (Pisanus)

b c 1421

son of Nicolò di Antonio and Maria, dau of Pietro Da Canal

1442 m Morosina, dau of Marco Morosini di Nicolò; father of **Paolo**, Antonio, Pietro, NicolòAmbassadorial postsModena 1465 with **Girolamo Vendramin**; amb/prov to Pesaro 1483 with **Giorgio Emo**Other postssavored 1454; savord 1457; cap of Rovigo and prov gen of Polesine 1482; prov in campo 1483; prov with **Nicolò Pesaro** 1484, with Zaccaria de'Franceschi; savtf 1486; savtf 1487; prov in campo 1487; savtf 1490; savtf 1491; savtf 1492; cons 1494; prov in campo 1495; cap of Verona 1496; cons 1499; cons 1500Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1439

involved in disrupting *Maggior Consiglio* in 1446

Dispacci; ASV, Senato, Letteri di Rettori ed Altre Cariche, Dispacci al Senato, B.2, Luca Pisani and Nicolò Pesaro, provveditori presso Roberto di Sanseverino (July 7-September 1484)

Sources*Balla* 2/355v; *Barbaro* VI/127; *Capi* F.2/413; *Chojnacki, Political* 793-94; *Coll* 15/12r; *Collegio (lett sec)* vol 5/5r, *F.* 1/237r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/115r, 2/264r-v; *CXMiste* 26/152v, 28/93v; *Enc It XX/VII*/410; *Rettori busta* 2/F. 27; *Lorenzo* 7/414; *Malipiero* 362-63; *Neff* 443; *Rovigo* xliii; *Sanuto* 1/494; *SS* 20/53, 20/133r, 22/119v, 30/100v, 31/45r, 32/51r, 33/14v, 33/62v, 33/85v, 34/63r, 34/117r, 34/119r; *Verona* lxxxiAmbassadorial commissionsPisa 1483, *SS* 31/45r

Pisani, Paolo (Pisanus)

miles

c 1454-1510

son of **Luca di Nicolò** and **Morosina**, dau of **Marco Morosini di Nicolò**; bro of **Antonio, Pietro, Nicolò**

1492 m dau of **Ruzzier Ruzzini**, widow of **Tomaso Loredan**

Ambassadorial posts

Austria 1484; 'Lauaroni' 1489; Austria with **Pietro Sanuto** 1490; Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg 1492 with **Giorgio Federici***, **Andrea di Franceschi*** and **Giorgio Contarini**; Rome 1493-94 with **Giovanni Pietro Stella*** (resident), replaced **Andrea Capello**;⁷⁸ Rome 1495; Savoy 1497 with **Giovanni Pietro Stella***;⁷⁹ in obed to Pope Julius II 1505 with **Bernardo Bembo**, **Andrea Venier**, **Nicolò Foscari**, **Leonardo Mocenigo**, **Domenico Trevisan**, **Andrea Gritti**, **Girolamo Donato**; Louis XII, King of France 1507 in Milan with **Domenico Trevisan**; Rome 1510 with **Domenico Trevisan**, **Paolo Capello**, **Girolamo Donato**, **Leonardo Mocenigo** and **Ludovico Malipiero**⁸⁰

Other posts

savord 1482; savord 1483; savtf 1495; avog 1495-96; CX 1496-97; pod of Bergamo 1497-98; savtf 1499; avog 1499-1500; savtf 1500; CX 1500-01; duc el **Leonardo Loredan** 1501; vice pod of Cremona 1502; cap of Cremona 1503-04; savcons 1504; cons 1505; savcons 1505; cap of Padua 1505-07; savcons 1507; cons 1508; savcons 1509

Education/Intellectual interests

studied perhaps with **Giorgio Valla**

noted by King as humanist

Works: delivered funeral oration for Doge **Marco Barbarigo** 1486

Letters: from humanists including **Girolamo Borgia**, **Pietro Dolfi**, **Bernardino Gadolo**

⁷⁸ *Stampalia* (94v) refers to Pisani as amb to Milan in 1494 with **Zaccaria Barbaro**- this has been excluded as **Barbaro** died in 1492, and because **Giorgio Pisani** was amb to Milan in 1494.

⁷⁹ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Neff*

⁸⁰ *Gradenigo* (119r) notes that Pisani was amb to France in 1501 with **Antonio Loredan**; this embassy has been excluded from the database as it was not located in any other primary source or in *King*- it may refer to his mission of 1507.

Other information

Balla d'Oro; 1472

Sources

Balla 3/283r; *Barbaro* VI/105, VI/127; *Capi F.*2/584; *Collegio* 14/61r; *Collegio (lett sec)* 6/160v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/265v; *DBI* 18/239; *Enc It XXVII*/410; *Franceschi*; *Gradenigo* 270r, 119r, 274r; *IBI* 4/1110; *King* 418-19; *Neff* 427, 431, 551; *RelazIII*/ii; *Sanuto* 1/822, 2/388; *SS* 30/98v, 31/32v, 34/122r, 34/56r, 34/75v, 34/206r, 34/69r, 35/99r; *Stampalia* 94v, 11r

Ambassadorial commissions

Austria 1484, *SS* 31/83r-84r; Austria 1489, *SS* 34/56v-57r; Rome 1493, *SS* 34/206r-v; Rome 1505, *SS* 40/105r; France 1507, *SS* 40/28v; Rome 1509, *SS* 42/24v, 42/140v

Priuli, Antonio (De Priolis Priolis)

fl 1454-1483

son of Antonio

Ambassadorial posts

Duke Stefano of Santa Sava 1463; Emperor Frederick III 1469 with **Paolo Morosini**; refused mission to Rome in 1469; Florence 1470-71 (resident); refused mission to Florence 1475; Duke of Lorraine 1483

Other posts

savord 1454; savtf 1456; savtf 1457; savtf 1468; savtf 1469; savtf 1470; savtf 1471; CX 1472; savtf 1472; savtf 1473; CX 1473; savtf 1474; CX 1474; CX 1475; avog 1475; duc el Andrea Vendramin 1476; CX 1477; savcons 1478

Sources

Barbaro VI/223; *Collegio* 11/174v; *CXMiste* 17/217r, 17/223r, 18/71v, 18/141v, 18/160v, 18/241r, 18/62v; *SAV4*/147r; *SS* 20/22r, 20/114v, 23/13r, 23/153r, 23/165v, 24/103r, 24/158v, 26/11v, 26/68v, 28/123r; *Stampalia* 98r

Ambassadorial commissions

Duke of Santa Sava 1463, *SS* 21/180v; Emperor 1468, *SS* 23/151r; Florence 1470, *SS* 24/147v

Priuli, Pietro (de Priuli Priuli)

b 1421

son of Lorenzo di Constantin and Chiara, dau of Luca Tron di Donato (m 1419); bro of Luca and Antonio

1442 m Elisabetta dau of Luca Vendramin di Bartolomeo; father of Giovanni, Agostino, Sebastiano (bishop of Nicosia), Lorenzo, Giacomo, Bernardo, Constantin, Ludovico (Proc di Citra), Elena (m **Francesco Capello**), Maria (m **Francesco Sanuto**)

Ambassadorial posts

'ad locum fluminis navigis' 1472; Duke of Lorraine 1483 with **Gabriel Loredan**

Other posts

savord 1451; savord 1452; avog 1476; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; cons 1479; savcons 1480; savcons 1481; cons 1482; Proc di Sopra 1482; prov in campo 1483; savcons 1483; savcons 1484; savcons 1485; savcons 1486; savcons 1487; savcons 1488; savcons 1489; savcons 1490

Other information

Balla d'Oro; 1439

one of those to disrupt *Maggior Consiglio* 1442

Will dated 8/7/1491

Funeral monuments; S.Michele di Murano

Sources

Balla 2/214v; *Barbaro* VI/218, VI/237; *Chojnacki, Political* 791-92; *Collegio* 12/103v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/40v, 2/274v; *Notarile Testamenti* 1235/42; *SS* 19/97v, 19/113v, 29/93v, 29/173v, 30/83r, 30/171r, 31/15r, 31/127r, 32/185r, 32/188r, 33/70v, 33/159r, 34/15r, 34/66r

Ambassadorial commissions

'ad locum fluminis navigis' 1472, SS 25/168r

Sanuto, Francesco (Sanudo Sanutus)

1415-1482

son of Marino di Leonardo (ramo di San Giacomo) and Cecilia di Bertucio Pisani; bro of Giovanni, Giacomo, Paolo, **Leonardo**; nephew of doge **Cristoforo Moro**

1443 m Maria, dau of **Pietro Priuli** di Lorenzo; father of Marco (doctor, miles, amb to Savoy 1496), Marino (savtf), Vettore, Bernardo, Anzolo (prov)

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1468

Other posts

savtf 1467; savtf 1468; savtf 1469; pod of Vicenza 1469; savtf 1470; cap of Brescia 1471; savtf 1471; savtf 1472; cap of Brescia 1472; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; avog 1474; pod of Verona 1475; cons 1477; savcons 1478; duc el Giovanni Mocenigo 1478; cap of Padua 1480; savcons 1481; savcons 1482; prov gen in campo (war of Ferrara) 1482

Education/Intellectual interests

noted as very learned, particularly in astronomy (*Cicogna* 2/112-13)

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1433

Funeral monument; S Zaccaria

Sources

Balla 2/378r; *Barbaro* VI/560; *Brescia* liii; *Cicogna* 2/112-13; *Collegio* 12/68r; *Cosenza* 4/3190; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/127v, 2/300v; *Enc It* XXX/800; *Gradenigo* 36v; *Padua* liii; *SAV*6/93r; *SS* 23/78v, 23/97r, 23/137v, 23/154r, 25/109r, 28/88r; *Stampalia* 227r; *Verona* lxxix; *Vicenza* xxxv

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1468, SS 23/145v-147r

Sanuto, Leonardo (Sanudo Sanutus)

c 1426-1474

son of Marino di Leonardo and Cecilia, dau of Bertucio Pisani; bro of Giovanni, Giacomo, Paolo, **Francesco**; nephew of Doge **Cristoforo Moro**

1444 m Letita, dau of Pellegrin Memo, 1448 m Clestina, dau of Carlo Contarini, 1454 m Lucrezia, dau of Pellegrin Venier; father of Antonio, Ludovico, Marino (cap of Verona), Leonardo, Cristina (m Cristoforo Moro)

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1474

Other posts

savord 1455; visdomino of Ferrara 1458-59; treasurer to Doge Cristoforo Moro 1462

Education/Intellectual interests

education perhaps with Guarino Veronese

noted by King as humanist

possessed large library of classical, philosophical, theological works

Works: *Oratio ad Franciscum Sanutum Brixiae Capitaneum* (1470); *Oratio habita apud Sistum [sic] Quartum Pontificiem Maximum* (1474); Compiler of *Orationes et epistolae ad Christoforum Maurum Venetiarum Principem tum Italarum tum extoru Principum pro eius inauguratione ad Ducalem dignitatem, additis orationibus Civitatum reipublicae, quarum sequitur descripto, uno volumine collectae, per Leonardum Sanutum eiusdem ducis fortunarum curam gerentem, anno 1462*

Letters: from George of Trebizond, to Pietro Barozzi, **Antonio Donato**, Francesco Sanuto, Giacomo Zane

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1444

Will dated 18/9/1474

Sources

Balla 2/378r; *Barbaro* VI/560; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/127v, 2/300v; *Ferrara* 53; *King* 430-31; *Notarile Testamenti* 1240/31; *SS* 26/147r; *Stampalia* 227r; *Vite* 6

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1474, *SS* 26/141r-143r (see also Marciana, It XI Cod. 187 (7363), *Commissio Ducalis Niccolai Marcelli ad Leonardum Sanutum oratorem ad Summum Pontificiem*, 2/7/1474)

Sanuto, Pietro (Sanudo Sanutus)⁸¹

fl 1490-99

Ambassadorial posts

Austria 1490 with **Paolo Pisani**; Levant 1499 with Girolamo Diedo*

Sources

Gradenigo 274r; *Neff* 419-20; *SS* 34/75v

Soranzo, Giovanni (Superantio Superanus)

fl 1420-1474

son of Cristoforo (amb 1414) di Gabriel; bro of Luca, Gabriel, Pietro, Benedetto, Francesco, Andrea

1436 m dau of Giovanni Giustiniani di Marco, 1438 m dau of Pietro Morosini, 1448 m Cecilia, dau of Benedetto Bembo di Pietro; father of Andrea, Maffeo, Pietro, Cristoforo, Giorgio, Luca

Ambassadorial posts

Milan 1454; Rome 1467 with **Pietro Morosini**

⁸¹ Note that there are at least two possible homonyms for Pietro Sanuto, the son of Domenico (*Barbaro* VI/559) and the son of Benedetto (duc el in 1486, *Barbaro* VI/553).

Other posts

cap of the galleys 1463; savtf 1464; savtf 1466; cap of the galleys 1466; savtf 1467; savtf 1468; CX 1472; cap of Vicenza 1472; cap of Vicenza 1472; CX 1473; CX 1474; prov in Cyprus 1474

Sources

Barbaro VIII/37; Collegio 11/18v; Cronaca Matrimonia 2/305r; CXMiste 17/187r, 18/115r, 18/79v; Gradenigo 36r; Sforzesco 341, 95 (1454); SS 22/29r, 22/161r, 23/3v, 23/77r, 23/81v, 23/97v, 26/106r; Stampalia 214v, 227r; Vincenzo xxxviii

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1467, SS 23/46r

Soranzo, Nicolò (Superantio Superanus)

d 1480

son of Giovanni di Marco

1414 m Maria, dau of Pietro Contarini, widow of Andrea Contarini; bro of Antonio, Giovanni, Francesco, Bernardo, Benedetto

Ambassadorial posts

in obed to Pope Paul II 1464 with Triadano Gritti, Ludovico Foscari, Vettore Capello, Girolamo Barbarigo, Zaccaria Trevisan, Pietro Mocenigo, Andrea Lion, Nicolò Tron, Hector Pasquale; Ferrara 1473 with Triadano Gritti, Andrea Vendramin, Andrea Lion⁸²

Other posts

cons 1457; cap of Verona 1458; cons 1460; CX 1462; savcons 1469; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; prov in Cyprus 1474

Other information

⁸² According to *Gradenigo* (311r), this post was held by Nicolò Mocenigo- according to the commission, however (*SS* 26/30v), it was held by Nicolò Soranzo (see reference to Nicolò Mocenigo at the end of this appendix).

Wills dated 11/1/1475 and 31/3/1479

Sources

Barbaro V/17, V/21, V/23; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/304r; *CXMiste* 15/120v, 15/123r, 16/101v; *Collegio* 9/193v, 9/107r; *Ferrara* 5; *Gradenigo* 16r; *SS* 24/41r, 26/24v, 26/106r, 22/37r; *Notarile Testamenti* 1186/94; *Stampalia* 214r; *Verona* lxxix

Ambassadorial commission

Ferrara 1473, *SS* 26/30v

Soranzo, Pietro (Superantio Superanus)

c 1438- 1509

son of **Vettore** di Nicolò and Elisabetta Dandolo;⁸³ bro of Nicolò, Paolo, Francesco, Maffeo, Girolamo, Giorgio, Marco

Ambassadorial posts

Naples 1484 with **Giorgio Pisani** and **Antonio Loredan**;⁸⁴ Castile 1485 with Giovanni Borghi*

Other posts

prov 1484

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1456

Sources

Balla 2/335v; *Barbaro* VII/39; *Cicogna* 3/404; *Collegio* 13/80r; *Collegio (lett sec)* 5/86r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/304v; *CXMiste* 22/57r, 22/172v; *Gradenigo* 140r, 193v; *SS* 32/126v; *Stampalia* 127v

⁸³ Elisabeth Dandolo was noted as the mother of Pietro and wife of Vettore in *Balla* (2/355); her marriage to Vettore was however not located in *Cronaca Matrimonia* (2/30r).

⁸⁴ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (193r)

Ambassadorial commissions

Castile 1485, SS 32/126v-127v

Soranzo, Vettore (Superantio Superanus)

miles

1410-c 1488

son of Nicolò di Gabriel and Lucrezia, dau of Paolo Morosini; bro of Pietro

1432 m Giovanna, dau of Girolamo Giorgio; possibly a second marriage to Elisabetta Dandolo;⁸⁵ father of Nicolò, Paolo, Francesco, Maffeo, **Pietro**, Girolamo, Giorgio, Marco

Ambassadorial posts

refused mission to Rome 1469; Naples 1470-71 (resident);⁸⁶ Milan 1475 with **Vitale Lando**; Milan 1477 with **Zaccaria Barbaro**⁸⁷

Other posts

savtf 1462; savtf 1463; CX 1464; savtf 1465; CX 1465; avog 1467; cons 1469; savtf 1469; savtf 1470; prov in Lombardy 1470; avog 1470; prov in Casamberto 1472; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; duc el Agostino Barbarigo 1485; savcons 1475; cap of Padua 1475; cons 1477; prov in Friuli 1478; savcons 1479; savcons 1480; cap-gen at sea 1480-82; Proc di Sopra 1481; savcons 1484

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1428

Will dated 13/3/1485

Sources

Balla 1/162r; *Barbaro* VII/39, VII/17, VII/21; *Collegio* 12/71v, 12/68r, 12/120r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/125r, 2/304v; *CXMiste* 16/186r, 16/204v, 17/130v, 19/171v; *Enc It XXXII*/154; *Gradenigo* 40r, 178v, 193r, 292v, 396v; *Lorenzo* 2/263, 2/283 7/3; *Magg*

⁸⁵ See note 82 above

⁸⁶ *Stampalia* (98v) notes that Soranzo was amb to Florence in 1474- this is not corroborated by any other source including *Lorenzo* and so has been excluded.

23/98v; *Notarile Testamenti* 1235/64 (Savini); *Padua* liii; *SAV*6/9r; *Sforzesco* 369 (21/9/1479), 359 (2/1474), 366 (6/4/1478), 356 (14/9/1470); *SS* 21/110v, 21/138r, 22/107v, 24/16r, 24/87r, 24/156v, 25/130v, 26/176v, 26/186v, 27/15r, 27/127v, 28/56r, 29/16r, 29/78r, 29/90r, 29/164v, 30/84v, 32/25r; *Stampalia* 46r, 94r, 98v, 127r, 132r; *Wien* 279r (13/3/1473)

Ambassadorial commissions

King Ferdinand 1470, *SS* 24/148r-149v; Milan 1472, *SS* 27/133r; Milan 1475, *SS* 26/176v

Trevisan, Benedetto (Truifano Trvisano Trivisanus)⁸⁸

c 1428- 1494

son of Francesco and Filippa, dau of Paolo Donato (m 1410); bro of Natale and Marco
1459 m Molina, dau of Marino Molin; father of Marco, Girolamo, Francesco

Ambassadorial posts

Milan 1492-93 (resident) replaced **Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo** and replaced by **Giorgio Pisani**; Milan 1494 with Giorgio Negro* and Sebastiano Badoer (Trevisan died while on mission to Milan)

Other posts

visdomino of Ferrara 1466; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; pod at Vicenza 1475; bailo to Constantinople 1478; lt in Friuli 1482; avog 1483; avog 1485; avog 1494

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1446

Dispatches; Dispacci alla Signoria di Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan 1494-95, *Ambasciatori a Ludovico Sforza* (Marciana It VII Cod 547- 8529)

⁸⁷ Note that there is a commission for a Vettore Soranzo as ambassador to Hungary in 1500 with Sebastiano Giustiniani (*SS* 38/12v-14v); however as Vettore di Nicolò appears to have died around 1488 (will dated 1485), this position has not been attributed to him.

⁸⁸ Note that there are a number of homonyms for this individual; only those offices definitely attributed to Benedetto di Francesco have been listed above. One close homonym was Benedetto Trevisan di Zaccaria, who was ambassador to the Emperor 1495-96, and France 1499-1500 (see reference to him at the end of this appendix).

Sources

Balla 2/390r; *Barbaro* VII/104; *Collegio* 13/126r, 13/114r; *Collegio (lett sec)* 6/120v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/131v; *Enc It XXXIV*/284; *Gradenigo* 231v, 76v; *Neff* 486; *RelazIII*/ii; *SAV6*/17v, 114r, 58r, 96r; *Stampalia* 94r

Ambassadorial commissions

Milan 1492-93, SS 34/146r; Milan 1494, SS 35/59r-v

Trevisan, Domenico (Truifano Trvisano Trivisanus)

1446-1539

son of Zaccaria di Febo and Camila, dau of Andrea Bernardo di Andrea di Francesco (m 1444); related to **Zaccaria**

1473 m Suordamor, dau of Pietro Marcello di Antonio; father of Marcantonio (doge), Ludovico, Pietro, Francesco, Girolamo, Vincenzo

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1483;⁸⁹ King of the Romans (Bruges) 1486 with **Ermolao Barbaro**;⁹⁰ Milan 1486-88; Rome 1488-99 (resident) with **Marcantonio Morosini** (who went on as amb to Naples), replaced by **Ermolao Barbaro**; Turkey 1493; France 1494-95 with Francesco della Guidecca* and **Antonio Loredan** (perhaps also visited Milan and Rome as well);⁹¹ Spain and Portugal 1497 with Marcantonio Zambon and **Antonio Boldù**; refused embassy to France 1499; Louis XII 1501-02 with **Francesco Capello di Cristoforo** and **Girolamo Donato**; Emperor 1504; in obed to Julius II 1505 with **Bernardo Bembo**, **Andrea Venier**, **Nicolo Foscari**, **Leonardo Mocenigo**, **Andrea Gritti**, **Paolo Pisani** and **Girolamo Donato**; Louis XII in Milan 1507 with **Paolo Pisani**; Rome 1510 with **Leonardo Mocenigo**, **Ludovico Malipiero**, **Paolo Pisani**, **Paolo Capello** and **Girolamo Donato** and **Andrea di Franceschi***; King of Egypt 1512 after Pietro Balbi refused the post

⁸⁹ This embassy is not referred to in any manuscript/primary source, only appearing in *Gradenigo* (37r)

⁹⁰ *Gradenigo* states that Trevisan (274r) was sent to the Duke of Austria in 1485- this embassy has been excluded as it has not been corroborated by any other source and may refer to Trevisan's mission to the King of the Romans in 1486.

⁹¹ *Stampalia* (95v) notes that Domenico Trevisan and Antonio Loredan were ambassadors to Milan in 1494, presumably referring to this embassy when they stopped in Milan (see also Sforzesco 382, 30/10/1494)

Other posts

pod and cap in Feltre 1474; CX 1486; CX 1488; avog 1490; pod of Brescia 1491; CX 1492; pod of Brescia 1494; prov 1496; cap of Cremona 1498; pod of Padua 1501; Proc d'Ultra 1503; savcons 1509; savcons 1511; duc el Antonio Grimani 1521; duc el Andrea Gritti 1523; avog 1524

Other information

Balla d'Oro; 1464

Funeral monument; S.Francesco della Vigna

Sources

Balla 3/322r; *Barbaro* VII/123, VII/98, VII/101; *Belluno* liv; *Brescia* li; *Cochrane* 80; *Collegio (lett sec)* F. 1/8r, F. 1/95r, F. 1/169r, F. 1/217r, reg. 6/65r, reg. 6/8r, reg. 6/3r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/131v, 2/318v; *CXMiste* 23/49r, 23/185r, 24/147r, 25/184v, 27/36r; *DBI* 28/160-61; *Donazzolo* 78-90; *Finlay, Politics* 133-34; *Gradenigo* 32r, 37v, 102r, 109r, 109v, 143v, 187r, 210v, 232r, 274r, 293r; *IBI* 4/1355; *Neff* 432, 450, 584, 589; *Padua* xlix; *Sanuto* 1/652, 1/49, 2/44; *SAV4*/90v, *SAV6*/135r, *SAV7*/23r; *Sforzesco* 382 (30/10/1494); *SS* 20/206r, 33/150r, 33/179r, 35/64r, 35/69r, 38/165r, 39/33v, 42/15v, 44/87r; *Stampalia* 94v, 95v, 111r, 162r, 172v, 227v

Ambassadorial commissions

King of the Romans 1486, *SS* 33/29r-v; Turkey 1493, *SS* 34/161r-162r; France 1494, *SS* 35/53v-55r; Spain 1497, *SS* 36/169v-172r; France 1501, *SS* 38/178v-180r; Rome 1505, *SS* 40/105r; France 1507, *SS* 41/28v; Rome 1509, *SS* 42/24v; Rome 1510, *SS* 42/140v; Egypt 1511, *SS* 44/103v-105v

Trevisan, Paolo (Truifano Trvisano Trivisanus)

miles

b c 1459

son of Andrea di Marco and Elena, dau of Marco Paruta di Bartolomeo (m 1454); bro of Giacomo, Marco, Michiel, Pietro, David

1479 m Maria, dau of Giovanni Contarini di Pietro

Ambassadorial posts

Mantua 1489; Milan 1490-91 (resident), replaced **Girolamo Donato** and replaced by **Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo**; Ferdinand II, King of Aragon 1493-4;⁹² refused embassy to Rome 1498, **Paolo Capello** elected instead

Other posts

savord 1481; CX 1495; savtf 1497; pod of Bergamo 1498; cons 1498; avog 1498; CXMiste 1500; lt in Friuli 1500; prov to Salò and Riviera Bresciana 1505

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1477

According to *Donazzolo* 54-55 visited Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia

Will dated 3/6/1490

Sources

Balla 3/323v; *Barbaro* VII/106; *Bergamo* xxxvii; *Collegio (lett sec)* reg 6/19r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/317v, 2/318v; *CXMiste* 26/196r, 28/161v; *Donazzolo* 54-55; *Friuli* liv; *Gradenigo* 76r; *Salò* xxiii; *Sanuto* 1/1056; *Sforzesco* 375 (16/3/1490), 375 (14/3/1490), 377 (18/7/1491), 1270 (25/8/1498), (17/9/1498); *SS* 29/34r, 34/17v, 34/210v; *Stampalia* 132r, 194r

Ambassadorial commissions

King Ferdinand 1493, *SS* 34/210v-211r

Trevisan, Zaccaria (Truifano Trvisano Trivisanus)

doctor miles

1414-1466

son of Zaccaria (amb many times including to Ferrara in 1400, Gerna 1403; humanist)⁹³ di Giovanni and Caterina, dau of Giovanni Marcello; bro of Giovanni, Nicolò (Proc di Sopra, prov and cap at Brescia); related to **Domenico**

⁹² Trevisan may have been sent on an embassy to the Emperor in 1489; see reference to Domenico Grimani at the end of the appendix.

1439 m Dorotea, dau of Venier di Santo; father of Benedetto⁹⁴ and Giovanni, dau m **Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo**

Ambassadorial posts

Bologna 1445; Florence 1446-47, in place of Giovanni Marino; in obed to Pope Nicolas V 1447 with Ludovico Venier, **Ludovico Loredan, Pasqualigo Malipiero**; Savoy 1448; Naples 1451; Florence 1451-52; cap-gen 1452; Diet of Ratisbon 1454 with **Nicolò Da Canal**; Rome and Naples 1454-55 with **Girolamo Barbarigo**; in obed to Pope Paul II 1464-65 with **Triadano Gritti, Ludovico Foscari, Vettore Capello, Girolamo Barbarigo, Nicolò Soranzo, Pietro Mocenigo, Andrea Lion, Nicolò Tron, Hector Pasqualigo**

Other posts

savtf 1445; savtf 1446; CX 1446; savtf 1447; savtf 1448; CX 1448; cons 1448; savtf 1449; pod of Verona 1449-50; savtf 1450; cons 1451; CX 1451; savcons 1451-52; lt in Friuli 1452; savcons 1453-54; savcons 1455; cons 1455; CX 1456; avog 1456; cap of Brescia 1456-57; avog 1458-59; savcons 1460; CX 1461-62; savcons 1461-62; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; pod of Padua 1462-63; avog 1464; cons 1465-66

Education/Intellectual interests

studied with Paolo della Pergola; received license and doctorate in arts in Padua 1434; doctorate in laws 1442

noted by King as humanist

Works: *Oratio pro data licentia D. Iohanne Marino in introque iure* (Padua 1435); *Oratio habita ad Pontificem Barbum* (1464); delivered orations to Nicolas V and King Alfonso of Aragon

Letters: correspondence with Francesco Barbaro, letters from **Ludovico Foscari**

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1432

Funeral monument; S Andrea del Lido detto La Certosa

⁹³ According to *Barbaro* (VII/124) Zaccaria is the son of Giovanni di Zaccaria - for more details of Zaccaria's career see *King* 436-37.

⁹⁴ More details concerning the life of Benedetto Trevisan di Zaccaria can be found at the end of the appendix.

Sources

Balla 1/153r; *Barbaro* VII/124; *Cicogna* 2/86-87; *Cosenza* 4/3475; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/131v, 2/317v; *Dolfin* 439v; *Enc It XXXIV*/284; *Gradenigo* 15v, 16r; *King* 437-39; *SS* 18/3r, 22/37r; *Stampalia* 214r

Ambassadorial commissions

Rome 1447, *SS* 17/126v-129r; Savoy 1448, *SS* 18/19r-20r; Florence 1451, *SS* 19/93r-94r; cap-gen 1452, *SS* 19/108v-110r; Diet of Ratisbon 1454, *SS* 20/20v

Tron, Francesco (Trono Thronus)

b c 1440

son of Ludovico di Francesco and Maria, dau of Pietro Gradenigo (m 1430)

1466 m Cristina, dau of Marco Malipiero di Lorenzo; father of Vettore

Ambassadorial posts

Bishop of Trent 1480; Duke of Austria 1483 (elected)

Other posts

savord 1472; prov 1483; savtf 1490; savtf 1493; savtf 1494; savtf 1495; CX 1500; cons 1501; cons 1502; savcons 1509; cons 1511

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1458

Sources

Balla 2/387v; *Coll* 15/56v, 60v; *Cosenza* 4/3480; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/322v, 2/323r; *CXMiste* 28/155v, 28/239v, 29/76v; *Enc It XXXVI*/406; *SS* 25/140r, 29/126r, 31/40v, 31/105r, 34/96r, 34/189v, 35/57r, 35/69v

Ambassadorial commissions

Bishop of Trent 1480, *SS* 29/126r-v

Tron, Nicolò (Trono Thronus)

doge

c 1399-1473

son of Luca di Donato and Lucia, dau of Girolamo Trevisan detto Bianca; bro of Antonio, Donato, Stae

1424 m Dea, dau of Silvestro Morosini di Marco; father of Filippo (Proc di Sopra), Giovanni, Francheschina (m Dolfino Dolfin), Cassandra (m Nicolò Duodo), Cecilia (m Donato Michiel), Lucia

Ambassadorial posts

Rome 1458 (elected, but apparently never sent); in obed Pope Paul II 1464 with **Triadano Gritti, Ludovico Foscari, Vettore Capello, Girolamo Barbarigo, Nicolò Soranzo, Pietro Mocenigo, Andrea Lion, Zaccaria Trevisan, Hector Pasqualigo**; Turkey 1471

Other posts

CX 1448; savtf 1448; savtf 1450; cons 1451; savtf 1451; savtf 1452; CX 1453; savtf 1453; CX 1454; savcons 1454; savcons 1455; savcons 1456; savcons 1458; CX 1458; savcons 1459; cons 1460; savcons 1460; savcons 1461; cap of Padua 1461; CX 1461; cap of Padua 1462; savcons 1463; cons 1463; gen of army 1463; cons to doge 1464; savcons 1464; CX 1465; savcons 1465; CX 1466; Proc di Sopra 1466; savcons 1466; savcons 1467; savcons 1468; savcons 1469; savcons 1470; savcons 1471; doge 1471-73

Other information

Will dated 3/1466; another will dated 9/12/1504 is also ascribed (presumably erroneously) to Doge Nicolò Tron

Funeral monument; S Giobbe

Sources

Barbaro VII/136-37, VII/141, VII/171; *Cicogna* 6(2)/645; *Collegio* 9/18v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/134v, 2/322v; *CXMiste* 13/103r, 14/84r, 14/177v, 15/11r, 15/165v, 16/38r, 16/65v, 16/209v, 16/245; *Da Mosto* 122-30; *Enc It* XXXIV/406; *Gradenigo* 16r-v; *IBI* 4/1359; *Notarile Testamenti* 1214/1043 (Marsilio), 1228/302 (Rizzo); *Padua* liii; *SAV4*/148r, 148v, 145r; *SS* 18/29r, 18/179r, 19/38r, 20/6v, 20/8r, 20/83r, 20/200r,

20/209v, 21/29r, 21/145v, 22/37r, 22/59v, 23/3r, 23/23r, 23/119v, 23/166v, 24/10r, 24/178r

Secondary Sources

D. Pincus, 'The tomb of Doge Niccolo Tron and the Venetian Renaissance ruler imagery', M. Barasch and Lucy Freeman Sandler (eds.), *Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honour of H.W. Janson* (New York 1981), pp. 127-150

Valier, Pietro (Valerio)

b c 1432

son of Paolo di Biasio and Nera, dau of Giorgio Nicolosi (m 1414); bro of Silvestro
1461 m Anna, dau of Francesco Comer di Giacomo; 1466 m dau of Marco Gentil, widow of Marchese Bertoldo d'Este; father of Vincenzo

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Modena 1468

Other posts

savord 1468

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1450

Sources

Balla 2/23r, *Barbaro* VIII/169; *Cicogna* 2/276; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/326v, *SS* 23/121v, 23/140v, 23/147r, 23/148v

Vendramin, Andrea (Vendramino)

doge

c 1393-1478

son of Bartolomeo and Maria Michiel; bro of Luca

1426 m Regina, dau of Andrea Gradenico di Maffeo; father of Bartolomeo (exiled from Venice for homicide), Nicolò, Ludovico (lt in Udine, pod of Treviso), Paolo, Girolamo, Gian Francesco, Finetta, Orsa, Bianca, Clara (m **Zaccaria Barbaro**), Taddea

Ambassadorial posts

Modena 1467; Modena 1469; Rome 1470 with Antonio Vinciguerra*, Ludovico Manenti* and **Ludovico Foscari**; Ferrara 1471 with **Ludovico Foscari**; Ferrara 1473 with **Triadano Gritti**, Nicolò Soranzo, **Andrea Lion**; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1472- 1473

Other posts

CX 1449; cons 1453; CX 1455; CX 1456; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; CX 1457; cons 1458; CX 1459; CX 1460; CX 1462; duc el Cristoforo Moro 1462; CX 1463; savcons 1463; savcons 1465; cons 1466; savcons 1467; Proc di Citra 1467; savcons 1468; savcons 1469; savcons 1470; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; savcons 1472; savcons 1473; duc el Nicolò Marcello 1473; duc el Pietro Mocenigo 1474; savcons 1474; savcons 1475; doge 1476-78

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1418

Was an extremely wealthy man- according to *Gullino* (95-96), he gave his dau Clara a large dowry of between 5,000 and 7,000 ducats; according to Sanuto, in 1476 he was 'richo di ducati 160 milia' (*Vite* 70)

Funeral monument; SS Giovanni e Paolo (see Plate 6)

Sources

Balla 1/145r; *Barbaro* VIII/193, VII/197, VII/199-201; *Collegio* 11/69r; *Cosenza* 4/3600; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/142v, 2/344r; *CXMiste* 13/157v, 15/33r, 15/111r, 15/123r, 15/94r, 16/45r, 16/116v, 16/128r, 16/233v; *Da Mosto* 133-37; *Enc It* XXXV/43; *Gradenigo* 311r; *IBI* 4/1388; *Lorenzo* 1/119, 1/232; *Neff* 466, 583; *Sforzesco* 357 (29/8/1471); *SS* 21/189v, 22/59v, 23/26v, 23/94r, 23/160r, 24/45v, 24/87r, 24/98v, 26/11r, 26/24v, 27/44v; *Stampalia* 89r; *Vite* 70

Ambassadorial commissions

Modena 1467, *SS* 23/47r, 23/64v; Modena 1469, *SS* 24/45v; Rome 1470, *SS* 24/106v-108r; Ferrara 1471, *SS* 25/61v; Bartolomeo Colleoni 1472, *SS* 25/133r

Vendramin, Girolamo (Vendramino)⁹⁵

fl 1465

Ambassadorial postsModena 1465 with **Luca Pisani**Sources*Cicogna* 1/69; *Collegio* 14/43r; *Friuli* lix; *SS* 22/119v**Venier, Antonio (Venerio)⁹⁶**

fl 1454

Ambassadorial posts

Friuli 1454

Sources*SS* 19/36v, 20/50r, 24/164rAmbassadorial commissionsFriuli 1454, *SS* 20/45r**Venier, Francesco (Venerio)**

c 1408-1485

son of Dolfin di Pasquale and Margarita; bro of Giacomo (cap-gen at sea 1466), Lion, Antonio (Proc di Sopra, pod of Padua); uncle of Andrea di Lion (amb to Julius II 1505); grandfather of Marcantonio (amb many times including to Rome and England)

1437 m Francesca, dau of Leonardo Dandolo; 1458 m Morosina, dau of Gaudentio Morosini;⁹⁷ father of Ludovico, Roberto (prov), Cristoforo, Maffeo, Venier

⁹⁵ Note that there are at least two possible homonyms; the son of Doge Andrea (*Barbaro VII/201*) and the son of Antonio (*Barbaro VII/199*); the latter held the post of savcons in 1492 and lt in Friuli in 1492 and died around 1498

Ambassadorial posts

Faenza 1446; Casamano 1451; France and Savoy 1453-54; Hungary 1466 (commission granted 1465), replaced by **Francesco Diedo**; Hungary 1472⁹⁸

Other posts

prov in Rippalte 1450; cap of Vicenza 1462; savtf 1462; savtf 1465; CX 1467; savtf 1467; lt of Friuli 1468; avog 1468; cons 1468; pod of Padua 1470; savtf 1470; duc el Nicolò Tron 1471; avog 1472; savcons 1474; Proc d'Ultra 1475; savcons 1476; savcons 1477; savcons 1478; savcons 1479; savcons 1480; savcons 1481; prov 1482; savcons 1482; savcons 1483; savcons 1484

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1426

Sources

Balla 1/169v; *Barbaro* VII/212, VII/240, VII/241; *Collegio* 12/71v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/333v; *CXMiste* 17/77r; *Friuli* lix; *Gradenigo* 322r, 177v; *Kendall and Ilardi* I/98, 148; *Padua* xlix; *SAV6*/26v, 9r; *SS* 20/3v, 21/104r, 22/80v, 22/106r; 23/62v, 23/100r, 25/122v, 26/92r, 27/88r, 27/139v, 28/47v, 28/98v, 29/16r, 29/78r, 29/82v, 30/69v, 30/83r, 31/6v, 32/34r; *Vicenza* xxxvii

Ambassadorial commissions

Faenza 1446, *SS* 17/38v; Savoy 1453, *SS* 19/188v; Hungary 1465, *SS* 22/106r-107r

Vettore, Antonio (Vettori Vittori Vitturi)⁹⁹

miles

d c 1485

⁹⁶ There are several possible homonyms; Antonio son of Delfino (*Barbaro* VII/240) was Proc SM and refused an ambassadorial post to Turkey in 1470; Antonio di Marco (*Barbaro* VII/217 and 229) was a duc el 1473 and cap of Padua 1471

⁹⁷ Note that in *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/333v, the citing of Morosina as wife of Francesco Venier is over-scored; instead the dau of Francesco Morosini di Giovanni is noted as Francesco Venier's wife.

⁹⁸ This reference does not appear in any of the primary/manuscript sources, only appearing in *Gradenigo*, 177

⁹⁹ There is at least one other contemporary homonym for Antonio Vettore- see *Sanudo* 1/782

son of Benedetto (pod at Padua) di Zaccaria; bro of Ludovico, Giovanni (cap of galleys and prov at Ravenna), Zaccaria (cap of Verona), Nicolò, Francesco
1457 m dau of Ludovico Diedo; father of Benedetto and Vettore

Ambassadorial posts

Hungary 1477 with Tomaso de Freschi*; Turkey 1481-82, probably with Zaccaria de Freschi* and Ludovico Manenti*; Rome 1482; cap-gen 1482 with Sebastiano Badoer; amb/prov to Duke of Lorraine 1483; Milan 1484-1485

Other posts

prov/amb in Levant 1473 with Ludovico Lando and Zaccaria de Freschi*; pod of Vicenza 1476; avog 1479; avog 1480; savtf 1481; prov in Lombardy 1482; CX 1482; savtf 1483; prov with army 1483; savcons 1484

Sources

Barbaro VII/285; Belluno li; Capi FI/51; Collegio (commissioni) reg 1482-95/21v, 24v; Collegio (lett sec) reg 5/23r; Cronaca Matrimonia 1/144r, 2/341r; CXMiste 20/188v; Ferrara 50; Gradenigo 178r, 240r, 293r, 352r; Lorenzo 6/70; Neff 441, 443, 466; Malipiero 132, 675; SAV6/9r; SS 20/128v, 27/139r, 29/168v, 30/16r, 30/45r, 30/126r, 31/29r, 31/50r, 31/79r, 32/39v, 32/99v; Stampalia 94v, 172v; Vicenza xxxv

Ambassadorial commissions

Hungary 1476, SS 27/91r-92r; Turkey 1481, SS 30/34v-36v; cap-gen 1482, *Collegio (commissioni) reg 1482-95/121v-122r*; Duke of Lorraine 1483, SS 31/79r-81r; Milan 1484, SS 32/99v-100v

Vettore, Bartolomeo (Vettori Vittori Vitturi)

b c 1435

son of Matteo di Bulgaro and Elisabetta, dau of Girolamo Molin (m 1420); bro of Bulgaro 1456 m Marietta, dau of Matteo Contarini di Nicolò; father of Ludovico, Matteo, Bernardo, Giacomo

Ambassadorial posts

Duke of Lorraine 1483 with Nicolò Foscarini (elected)

Other posts

savord 1470; savord 1471; duc el Marco Barbarigo 1485; savtf 1490; visdomino Ferrara 1491; CX 1494; cons 1496; CX 1498; cons 1498; CX 1499; CX 1500

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1453

Sources

Balla 2/382v; *Barbaro VII*/279; *Collegio* 14/180r; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/144r, 2/341r, 2/340v; *CXMiste* 26/152v, 28/56v, 28/98v; *Gradenigo* 299r; *SAV*6/17v; *SS* 24/153r, 24/178r, 34/63r 34/73r, 34/124r, 36/53v; *Stampalia* 8r, 101r

Vettore, Matteo (Vettori Vittori Vitturi)

fl 1402-1466

son of Bulgaro di Bernardo and Cristina; bro of Sebastiano

1420 m Elisabetta, dau of Girolamo Molin; father of **Bartolomeo**, Bulgaro

Ambassadorial posts

Ferrara 1448 with **Pasquale Malipiero** (for peace conference); King of Aragon 1450; in obed to Pius II 1458 with **Triadano Gritti**, **Girolamo Barbarigo**, **Vettore Capello**; Diet of Mantua 1459 with **Ulisse Aliotti*** and **Lion Viari**¹⁰⁰

Other posts

pod of Padua 1442; lt of Friuli 1446; CX 1447; savcons 1447; savcons 1448; avog 1450; pod of Padua 1451; CX 1453; savcons 1453; savcons 1455; savcons 1456; CX 1457; savcons 1457; duc el Pasquale Malipiero 1457; savcons 1458; savcons 1459; CX 1459; savcons 1460; CX 1460; Proc di Citra 1460; savcons 1461; duc el Cristoro Moro 1462; savcons 1462; savcons 1463; savcons 1464; savcons 1465; savcons 1466

¹⁰⁰ *Neff* (p 352) states that Viari stopped in Mantua with Vettore; this reference is uncorroborated by any other source.

Sources

Barbaro VII/279, VII/275, VII/277; *Collegio* 8/128v; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/144r, 2/340v; *CXMiste* 13/82r, 14/156r, 15/21r, 15/191v, 16/47r; *Dolfin* 418v; *Friuli* lix; *Gradenigo* 138r, 16r; *Magg* 22/179r; *Neff* 352; *Padua* xlix; *SAV4*/147r, 147v, 145r; *SS* 18/29r, 18/204r, 19/196v, 20/99v, 20/205r, 21/31v, 21/104r, 21/226v, 22/5r, 22/63v, 22/134v; *Veniera* 146v

Ambassadorial commissions

Ferrara 1448, *SS* 17/148r-149v; King of Aragon 1450, *SS* 18/204r-205v; Rome 1458, *SS* 20/164r-165v

Viari, Lion (Viario)

fl 1413-1466

son of Giorgio di Luca

1435 m dau of Andrea Garzoni di Bernardo

Ambassadorial posts

Jacobo Piccinino 1458; King of Aragon 1458-59 with **Bernardo Giustiniani**; Diet of Mantua 1459 and Matteo Vettore with Ulisse Aleotti*¹⁰¹

Other posts

savtf 1452; cap of Vicenza 1455; savtf 1457; savtf 1458; savtf 1459; CX 1459; CX 1460; savtf 1463; CX 1463; savtf 1464; CX 1465; CX 1466

Sources

Cronaca Matrimonia 2/343v; *CXMiste* 15/191v, 16/47v, 16/137r, 16/219v, 16/245; *Labalme* 143-53; *Neff* 352; *SAV4*/147v, 148r; *SS* 19/131v, 20/137r, 20/142v, 20/160v, 20/172v, 21/224v; *Vicenza* xxxvii

Ambassadorial commissions

Jacopo Piccinino 1458, *SS* 20/160v; Naples 1458, *SS* 20/170r

¹⁰¹ See above note

Zeno, Catarino (Zen, Geno)

b c 1421

son of Dragone (merchant in the East) di Antonio and Anna, dau of Giovanni Morosini (m 1404); bro of Nicolò and Giovanni

1453 m Violante, dau of Nicolò Crispo, Duke of Nissia; father of Pietro (bailo Constantinople) and Ottaviano

Ambassadorial posts

Persia 1471-74 (after Francesco Michiel and Giacomo da Mezzo refused post), stopped in Hungary 1473 and Poland en route back to Venice; Rome and Naples 1474

Other posts

CX 1476; CX 1477

Other information

Balla D'Oro; 1439

Buried Chiesa di S. Maria

Sources

Balla 2/24r; *Barbaro* VII/376; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/361v; *CXMiste* 18/230v, 19/52r; *Donazzolo* 48-49; *Enc It* XXXV/920-21; *Gradenigo* 252r; *Hakluyt* 5-41; *Malipiero* 82-84, 89-90; *Sforzesco* 358 (8/11/1473); *SS* 25/12r; *Stampalia* 153r; *Wien* 281r (1/4/1473)

Ambassadorial commissions

Persia 1471, *SS* 25/69v

Ambassadors who have been excluded from the database¹⁰²

Barbaro, Giacomo Stampalia (94v) refers to Barbaro as amb to Milan in 1485- this is uncorroborated by other source material. It may also refer to Zaccaria Barbaro, who was in Milan in this period.

Bernardo, Girolamo (Bernardus) Gradenigo (193v) noted that someone of this name served as ambassador to Naples in 1491; there is no corroboration for this in any other primary source.

Bernardo, Nicolò (Bernardus) son of Pietro. *Gradenigo* (327v) attributes an embassy to 'Svizzeri e Grigonia' to Nicolò Bernardo di Pietro in 1463; *Barbaro* also attributes this embassy to Nicolò Bernardo di Pietro (II/14). According to *Balla D'Oro* (3/60r) however, Nicolò Bernardo di Pietro was enrolled in the *Barbarella* in 1481 and so could not have held this post.

Contarini, Andrea (Contareno Contarionus) 1391-1471, son of Antonio; was amb/prov to Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg with about a dozen Venetians in Padua as the Emperor was en route to Rome 1468. This post has not been defined as 'ambassadorial' (see *Barbaro* II/462, II/427; *DBI* 28/105; *SS* 23/3r, 23/26v)

Dandolo, Girolamo di Antonio Stampalia (94v) refers to an individual of this name serving as amb to Milan in 1484- note however that Girolamo Donato is in Milan at this date.

De Lezze, Giacomo according to Stampalia (7r, 55r), was amb to cap-gen in 1485 with Federico Corner, but is noted elsewhere as prov.

Donato, Pietro (Donado Dona Donati) son of Nicolò; *Gradenigo* (372v) has Pietro Donato di Nicolò as amb to Bologna in 1482. However there is no reference to this post in any other primary source; it is likely that this post refers to Pietro Diedo, son of Nicolò who was amb to Bologna in 1482.

¹⁰² These individuals have been excluded for a variety of reasons including errors in sources such as *Gradenigo* or *Stampalia*, or because they lie outside the date range given.

Giorgio, Girolamo (Georgio Zorzi) son of Francesco di Paolo and Lucrezia, dau of Alessandro Bono; was amb to Rome 1495 with Giorgio Franco* (resident), France 1498-99 with Ruggiero da Michiel and Nicolò Michiel and Antonio Loredan to condole on death of Charles VIII and to congratulate new king on his accession (special); Milan 1500, probably with Marco Bevazan*

(see *Balla* 2/30v; *Barbaro* VII/424; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 1/146r, 2/349, 2/350; *CXMiste* 26/205v; *Gradenigo* 38r, 109r; *Neff* 439, 482; *SS* 38/42v)

Giustiniani, Paolo (Giustinian Giustiniano Zusti Zustignan) *Gradenigo* has a reference to Paolo Giustiniani as amb to the King of Naples 1494 (p 193v). I have found no reference to this embassy in other sources; please note that it may refer to Paolo Trevisan is amb to Naples in 1494.

Gradenigo, Giovanni *Stampalia* (161v) gives Gradenigo as amb to the Emperor 1477-78- note that Domenico Gradenigo is actually amb to the Emperor at this time.

Grimani, Domenico *Gradenigo* (p 76r) has an individual of this name serving as special ambassador to Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg in 1489 with Girolamo Barbaro, Girolamo Lion and Paolo Trevisan (*Stampalia* (194r) dates this embassy to 1490). No corroboration for this embassy has been found in any other source, although *Barbaro* does mention that Domenico Grimani di Andrea went on an embassy to the Emperor, without specifying a year (*Barbaro* IV/145). Another possibility is that this post refers to one that Antonio Grimani was elected to in 1489 but never actually took up (to the Emperor). Note also that Paolo Trevisan is ambassador to Mantua in 1489.

Marcello, Nicolò son of Giovanni (doge); in 1471 Marcello was elected amb to Rome (*SS* 24/155v); however, he was not finally included in the commission (for his election see *SS* 24/60v; for the commission see 24/84r).

Mocenigo, Nicolò (d 1505), Proc di SM; son of Leonardo (Proc SM) di Pietro and Francesca, dau of Ludovico Foscari di Francesco, widow of Andrea Gritti. *Gradenigo* (311r) notes that Nicolò Mocenigo was sent as ambassador to Ferrara 1472 with **Andrea Vendramin, Triadano Gritti, Andrea Lion**. However, according to *SS* 24/21r, this post was held by Nicolò Soranzo. (see *Barbaro* V/172, V/175, V/179, V/186; *Betto* 34; *Cronaca Matrimonia* 2/238v; *CXMiste* 17/154v, 18/69v, 18/138r, 23/104r, 24/196r;

Gradenigo 311r; *Padua* xlix, liii; *Rettori* (8/9/1484); *SAV*6/9r; *Sforzesco* 382 (3/7/1493); *SS* 27/12r, 27/109r, 28/111v, 29/106r, 30/16r, 33/57v, 33/95r, 33/123r, 33/136r, 34/19r, 34/119r, 34/135r, 34/157v, 34/176v, 35/15r, 35/69v, 35/239v; *Stampalia* 89r)

Moro, Giacomo (Mauro Maurus) *Gradenigo* (p 139v) argues that in 1454, Giacomo Moro was amb to the King of Aragon with Girolamo Barbarigo and Zaccaria Trevisan; however, Giacomo Moro does not appear in the commission for this embassy. (*SS* 20/38r) Also note that Giovanni Moro is in Naples at this point.

Pasqualigo, Pietro *Stampalia* (53r) refers to an individual of this name as amb to Hungary and Genoa in 1477- this is uncorroborated by any other source.

Querini, Antonio (Querini Quirinus) *Gradenigo* (320v) and *Stampalia* (66r) refers to an individual of this name serving on an embassy to Albania in 1459; there is no mention of this post in *SS*, and it seems likely that Querini was prov in Albania.

Trevisan, Benedetto (Truifano Trvisano Trivisanus) (doctor miles) d 1519. Son of Zaccaria di Zaccaria; bro of Giovanni. 1491 m- di Tomaso Mocenigo; father of Zaccaria. Benedetto held an amb post to Germany with *Zaccaria Contarini* 1495-96 and to France in 1498-99 with Giovanni Battista Palmario and Marco Corner (see *Barbaro* VII/124; *Calendar* 641, 643-45, 647, 649-53, 655-57; *Cicogna* 2/87; *Enc It* 284; *Friuli* lix; *Gradenigo* 119r, 109v; *Neff* 498). Note that *Cicogna* (2/87) ascribes the posts of Constantinople in 1478 and Ferrara in 1481 to Benedetto di Zaccaria; it is likely, however, that he did not hold these posts as he was only introduced to the Balla D'Oro in 1474 (*Balla* 3/323r).

Trevisan, Gabriel (Truifano Trvisano Trivisanus) son of Nicolò di Antonio; *Gradenigo* refers to this individual as amb to Albania in 1463 (p 321r); in *SS* (22/55r), he is referred to as prov in Albania and so has been excluded from the study.

Venier, Girolamo was noted by *Stampalia* (53r) as amb to Faenza in 1493- this is uncorroborated by any other source.

APPENDIX 2

DESTINATIONS OF VENETIAN AMBASSADORS 1454-1494

Notes: When ambassadors were noted as being sent to the Duke of Milan, they are given under 'Milan'. When ambassadors were commissioned to go to two locations, they are noted under both destination. This appendix should be read in conjunction with the notes in appendix 1.

*Ambassadorial posts in Italy**Brescia*

Pietro Morosini	1461
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Bologna

Bertucio Gabriel	1474
Antonio Contarini	1477
Pietro Diedo	1482

Faenza

Ludovico Da Canal	1468
Nicolò Pesaro	1469 (and Friuli)
Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo	1477
Girolamo Marcello	1479
Girolamo Barbaro	1479-80

Ferrara

Paolo Morosini	1459
Antonio Donato	1471
Ludovico Foscari	1471
Domenico Giorgio	1471
Andrea Vendramin	1471
Candiano Bollani	1472

Andrea Lion	1473
Bernardo Giustiniani	1473
Triadano Gritti	1473
Nicolò Soranzo	1473
Andrea Vendramin	1473
Paolo Morosini	1475
Marco Barbarigo	1475
Bernardo Bembo	1476
Zaccaria Barbaro	1479
Francesco Capello di Cristoforo	1490-91 (and France)
Zaccaria Contarini	1490-91 (and France)
Zaccaria Contarini	1493
Giorgio Pisani	1493

Florence

Antonio Priuli	1470-71
Bernardo Bembo	1475-76
Pietro Molin	1477
Giovanni Emo	1478
Marcantonio Morosini	1479
Antonio Donato	1479 (and Ravenna)
Bernardo Bembo	1478-80

Friuli

Antonio Venier	1454
Nicolò Pesaro	1469 (and Faenza)

Genoa

Ludovico Foscari	1455
Domenico Bollani	1477
Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo	1480
Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo	1482-84

Paolo Dolfin	1483
Girolamo Donato	1484
Giorgio Pisani	1484-85

Gorizia

Giovanni Emo	1460
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Lodi

Paolo Barbo di Nicolò	1454
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Sigismondo Malatesta

Marco Donato	1456
Bertucio Contarini	1463

Mantua

Zaccaria Barbaro	1476
Domenico Bollani	1478
Domenico Bollani	1479
Paolo Trevisan	1489
Francesco Capello di Cristoforo	1490
Zaccaria Contarini	1490
Giorgio Pisani	1490
Girolamo Lion	1490
Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo	1493

Milan

Paolo Barbo di Nicolò	1454
Nicolò Da Canal	1454
Giovanni Soranzo	1454
Carolo Marino	1456
Nicolò Da Canal	1462
Girolamo Barbarigo	1464

Antonio Dandolo	1468 (and Savoy)
Francesco Giustiniani	1470
Triadano Gritti	1470
Pietro Molin	1470
Candiano Bollani	1475
Vitale Lando	1475
Vettore Soranzo	1475
Domenico Giorgio (elected)	1476
Vettore Soranzo	1477
Zaccaria Barbaro	1477
Antonio Donato	1478-79
Francesco Diedo	1479-80
Antonio Vettore	1484-1485
Zaccaria Barbaro	1485
Girolamo Giorgio	1485
Bernardo Giustiniani	1485
Sebastiano Badoer	1485-86
Marcantonio Morosini	1485-87
Domenico Trevisan	1486-88
Sebastiano Badoer	1487
Ermolao Barbaro	1488-89
Pietro Marcello	1489
Girolamo Donato	1489-90
Paolo Trevisan	1490-91
Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo	1491-92
Benedetto Trevisan	1492-93
Giorgio Pisani	1493-94
Benedetto Trevisan	1494
Domenico Trevisan	1494
Sebastiano Badoer	1494-95

Modena

Carlo Marino (Duke of Modena)	1453-54
Maffeo Contarini	1454
Pietro Morosini	1454
Vitale Lando	1456
Luca Pisani	1465
Girolamo Vendramin	1465
Andrea Vendramin	1467
Pietro Valier (Duke of Modena)	1468
Andrea Vendramin	1469
Marco Corner (Duke of Modena)	1470

Marquis of Monferrato

Giustinani Morosini	1483
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Morea

Vettore Capello	1454-55
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Naples

Girolamo Barbarigo	1454-55 (and Rome)
Zaccaria Trevisan	1454-55 (and Rome)
Barbone Morosini	1455-56 (and Rome)
Sebastiano Badoer	1457
Bernardo Giustiniani	1458-59
Leo Viari	1458-59
Filippo Correr	1469-70
Bernardo Giustiniani	1470
Vettore Soranzo	1470-71
Zaccaria Barbaro	1471-73
Giovanni Emo	1473-74
Catarino Zen	1474 (and Naples)
Domenico Gradenico	1474

Paolo Morosini	1476
Francesco Michiel	1477
Nicolò Pesaro	1477
Giorgio Pisani	1484
Pietro Soranzo	1484
Marcantonio Morosini	1488-90 (and Rome)
Nicolò Michiel	1492-93

Parma (Pier Maria Rossi)

Marino Bonzi	1482
Andrea Bragadino	1482

Pesaro

Andrea Marcello	1454
Nicolò Lion	1467
Luca Pisani	1483
Giorgio Emo	1483

Rimini

Francesco Capello	1464
Giovanni Emo	1468

Romagna

Nicolò Pesaro	1462-63
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Rome

Orsato Giustiniani	1453-54
Cristoforo Moro	1453-54
Girolamo Barbarigo	1454-55 (and Naples)
Zaccaria Trevisan	1454-55 (and Naples)
Barbone Morosini	1455-56 (and Naples)
Bernardo Giustiniani	1458-59

Francesco Contarini	1460
Orsato Giustiniani	1461
Vitale Lando	1461
Zaccaria Barbaro	1462
Bernardo Giustiniani	1462-63
Ludovico Foscarini	1463-64
Nicolò Da Canal	1465
Giovanni Emo	1465
Bernardo Giustiniani	1466
Giovanni Soranzo	1467
Pietro Morosini	1467-68
Francesco Sanuto	1468
Francesco Giustiniani	1469-70
Ludovico Foscarini	1470
Andrea Vendramin	1470
Marco Barbarigo	1471
Giacomo Loredan	1471
Federico Corner	1472-73
Antonio Donato	1473-74
Leonardo Sanuto	1474
Catarino Zen	1474 (and Naples)
Paolo Morosini	1474-75
Antonio Donato	1475-76
Paolo Morosini	1476
Giacomo da Mezzo	1477-78
Sebastiano Badoer	1479
Zaccaria Barbaro	1480-81
Francesco Diedo	1481-83
Sebastiano Badoer	1482
Antonio Vettore	1482
Domenico Trevisan	1483
Antonio Loredan	1485-86

(followed by the secretary Antonio Vinciguerra)

Sebastiano Badoer	1486
Antonio Ferro	1486
Nicolò Michiel	1486
Sebastiano Badoer	1487-88
Bernardo Bembo	1487-88
Domenico Trevisan	1488-89
Marcantonio Morosini	1488-90 (and Naples)
Ermolao Barbaro	1490-91
Nicolò Michiel	1491
Girolamo Donato	1491-92
Andrea Capello	1492-93
Paolo Pisani	1493-94

Rome- in obedientia

Ludovico Foscarini	1455
Triadano Gritti	1455
Giacomo Loredan	1455
Pasquale Malipiero	1455

Girolamo Barbarigo	1458
Vettore Capello	1458
Triadano Gritti	1458
Matteo Vettore	1458

Girolamo Barbarigo	1464
Vettore Capello	1464
Ludovico Foscarini	1464
Triadano Gritti	1464
Andrea Lion	1464
Pietro Mocenigo	1464
Ettore Pasqualigo	1464

Nicolò Soranzo	1464
Nicolò Tron	1464
Zaccaria Trevisan	1464-65
Marco Corner	1471
Triadano Gritti	1471
Andrea Lion	1471
Bernardo Giustiniani	1471-72
Bernardo Bembo	1485
Ludovico Bragadino	1485
Pietro Diedo	1485
Antonio Loredan	1485 (stayed on as resident- see above)
Sebastiano Badoer	1492
Paolo Barbo	1492
Cristoforo Duodo	1492
Marino Lion	1492
<i>Siena</i>	
Vitale Lando	1452-54
Francesco Contarini	1454-55
Pandolfo Contarini	1455
<i>Bishop of Trent</i>	
Francesco Tron	1480
<i>Urbino</i>	
Ludovico Donato	1471
Francesco Diedo	1472

Ambassadorial posts outside Italy***Albania***

Pasquale Gradenico	1457
Paolo Morosini	1461
Antonio Priuli	1463
Pietro Molin	1464-66
Ludovico Da Canal	1465
Ludovico Lando	1469
Ludovico Mosto	1474
Francesco Contarini	1477

King of Aragon

Zaccaria Barbaro	1459
Giovanni Emo	1465
Francesco Giustiniani	1465
Francesco Giustiniani	1474
Nicolò Michiel	1476
Paolo Trevisan	1493-94

Austria

Paolo Morosini	1464
Francesco Diedo	1464-65
Bernardo Bembo	1474
Bertucio Gabriel	1475
Girolamo Contarini	1478
Paolo Pisani	1484
Girolamo Marcello	1486
Paolo Pisani	1490
Pietro Sanuto	1490

Sultan of Babylon

Maffeo Michiel	1460-61
Filippo Correr	1465

Bohemia

Paolo Morosini	1463 (and Poland)
Paolo Capello	1492-95 (and Hungary and Poland)
Marco Dandolo	1492-95 (and Hungary and Poland)

Burgundy

Marco Donato	1463-64
Antonio Dandolo	1467-68
Antonio Dandolo	1468-69
Bernardo Bembo	1471-74
Marcantonio Morosini	1474-75
Giacomo da Mezzo	1475

Cairo

Filippo Correr (Sultan of Egypt)	1454
Giovanni Emo (Sultan of Egypt)	1472
Nicolò Foscari	1489
Pietro Diedo	1489-90
(followed by his secretary Giovanni Borghi)	

Captain-general (also see individual names for captain-generals)

Sebastiano Badoer	1482
Giacomo da Mezzo	1482
Nicolò Michiel	1482
Antonio Vettore	1482

Captain-general at sea

Girolamo Barbarigo	1466-67
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Domenico Giorgio 1474

Cesena

Zaccaria Barbaro 1484

Federico Corner 1484

Bartolomeo Colleoni

Ludovico Loredan 1454

Marco Donato 1464

Ludovico Foscari 1465

Girolamo Barbarigo 1467

Marco Corner 1467

Nicolò Da Canal 1468

Filippo Correr 1468

Andrea Vendramin 1472-3

(Giovanni Mocenigo 1477)

Croatia

Pietro Molin 1472-3

Cyprus

Domenico Gradenico 1469

Giacomo da Mezzo 1470

Andrea Bragadino 1472

Dalmatia

Antonio Bernardo 1486-87

Domenico Bollani 1488

Imperial Diet at Graz

Giacomo da Mezzo 1478

Diet of Mantua

Leo Viari	1459
Matteo Vettore	1459
Ludovico Foscari	1459 (and Rome)
Orsato Giustiniani	1459 (and Rome)

Diet of Ratisbon

Nicolò Da Canal	1454
Zaccaria Trevisan	1454
Giovanni Emo	1471
Paolo Morosini	1471

King of the Romans

Nicolò Foscari	1483-84
Ermolao Barbaro	1486
Domenico Trevisan	1486
Giorgio Contarini	1492

Emperor

Giovanni Emo	1460
Vitale Lando	1461
Paolo Morosini	1462
Vitale Lando	1468
Paolo Morosini	1468
Zaccaria Barbaro	1469
Francesco Giustiniani	1469
Pietro Molin	1469
Domencio Moro	1469
Antonio Priuli	1469
Sebastiano Badoer	1483-84
Girolamo Donato	1488 (and King of the Romans)
Antonio Boldù	1489-90

Paolo Pisani	1492
Zaccaria Contarini	1493-94
Girolamo Lion	1493-95

France

Francesco Venier	1453-54 (and Savoy)
Paolo Barbo	1461-62
Bernardo Giustiniani	1461-62
Nicolò Da Canal	1463-64
Antonio Donato	1469-70
Francesco Donato	1476
Domenico Gradenico	1477-78
Bertucio Gabriel	1478-80
Bernardo Bembo	1483-84 (possibly travelled to England as well)
Sebastiano Badoer	1484
Antonio Loredan	1484
Girolamo Giorgio	1485
Francesco Capello	1490-91 (and Ferrara)
Zaccaria Contarini	1490-91 (and Ferrara)
Francesco Capello	1492
Zaccaria Contarini	1492
Antonio Loredan	1494
Domenico Trevisan	1494-95

Hungary

Giovanni Emo	1463-65
Bernardo Giustiniani	1464
Francesco Giustiniani	1464
Francesco Venier	1466
Francesco Diedo	1467-68
Francesco Venier	1472
Francesco Giustiniani	1473

Giovanni Emo	1474
Sebastiano Badoer	1474-76
Bertucio Gabriel	1476-77
Urbano Foscari	1477
Antonio Vettore	1477
Pietro Diedo	1478-79
Ludovico Lando	1480
Domenico Bollani	1481-82
Domenico Bollani	1489-90

Duke of Lorraine

Bernardo Bembo	1483
Girolamo Donato	1483
Gabriel Loredan	1483
Giacomo da Mezzo	1483
Benedetto Pesaro	1483
Antonio Priuli	1483
Pietro Priuli	1483
Antonio Vettore	1483
Bartolomeo Vettore	1483
Nicolò Foscari	1483-84 (elected)
Benedetto Vettore	1483 (elected)

Persia

Catarino Zen	1471-74
Ambrogio Contarini	1473-77
Giosfat Barbaro	1473-79

Jacopo Piccinino

Leo Viaro	1458
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Portugal

Girolamo Donato	1486
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Roberto Sanseverino

Zaccaria Barbaro	1482
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Agostino Barbarigo	1483
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Zaccaria Barbaro	1483
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Savoy

Francesco Venier	1453-54 (and France)
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Antonio Dandolo	1468 (and Milan)
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Francesco Diedo	1469-70
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Counts of Segna

Nicolò Michiel	1468-69
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Spain

Bernardo Bembo (Castile)	1468-69
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Nicolò Michiel (Castile)	1477
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Domenico Bollani	1479-80
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Marco Giorgio	1483 (elected)
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Pietro Soranzo (Castile)	1485
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Giorgio Pisani	1492
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Girolamo Lion	1492
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King of Tunis

Nicolò Bassadona	1464
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Maffeo Pesaro	1455
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Turkey (Constantinople)

Leonardo Boldù	1455
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Nicolò Da Canal	1460
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Leonardo Boldù	1467
Leonardo Boldù	1468
Nicolò Cocco	1470-71
Francesco Capello	1471
Nicolò Tron	1471
Giovanni Emo	1474
Antonio Donato	1475
Nicolò Cocco	1480-81
Antonio Vettore	1481-82
Domenico Bollani	1483
Antonio Ferro	1486
Domenico Trevisan	1493

Duke of Wallachia

Giovanni Antonio Minio	1470
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Unidentified places

Pietro Priuli	'locum fluminis navigis'	1472
Paolo Pisani	'locum lauaroni'	1489

APPENDIX 3

LISTS AND FIGURES USED IN THE TEXT

Figure A: The dates of ambassadors' entries in to the Balla D'Oro

FIRST NAME	SURNAME	DATE OF ENTRY IN BALLA D'ORO
Sebastiano	Badoer	1445
Agostino	Barbarigo	1438
Girolamo	Barbarigo	1420
Marco	Barbarigo	1432
Ermolao	Barbaro	1471
Giosfat	Barbaro	1431
Zaccaria	Barbaro	1441
Paolo	Barbo	1434
Paolo	Barbo	1440
Nicolò	Bassadona	1434
Bernardo	Bembo	1451
Antonio	Boldù	1459
Leonardo	Boldù	1439
Candiano	Bollani	1431
Domenico	Bollani	1465
Domenico	Bollani	1440
Marino	Bonzi	1442
Andrea	Bragadino	1442
Ludovico	Bragadino	1450
Andrea	Capello	1462
Francesco	Capello	1479
Francesco	Capello	1436
Paolo	Capello	1470
Vettore	Capello	1420
Nicolò	Cocco	1427
Ambrogio	Contarini	1447
Francesco	Contarini	1441
Francesco	Contarini	1448
Giorgio	Contarini	1463
Girolamo	Contarini	1442
Maffeo	Contarini	1430
Pandolfo	Contarini	1438
Zaccaria	Contarini	1475
Federico	Corner	1433
Marco	Corner	1424
Fillipo	Correr	1432
Nicolò	Da Canal	1433
Antonio	Dandolo	1451
Marco	Dandolo	1476
Pietro	Diedo	1450
Antonio	Donato	1440
Girolamo	Donato	1474
Ludovico	Donato	1458

Marco	Donato	1433
Cristoforo	Duodo	1442
Giorgio	Emo	1469
Antonio	Ferro	1453
Nicolò	Foscari	1465
Urbano	Foscari	1441
Ludovico	Foscarini	1427
Nicolò	Foscarini	1460
Bertucio	Gabriel	1441
Domenico	Giorgio	1425
Bernardo	Giustiniani	1431
Francesco	Giustiniani	1440
Pasqualigo	Gradenico	1416
Triadano	Gritti	1411
Ludovico	Lando	1438
Vitale	Lando	1439
Girolamo	Lion	1467
Marino	Lion	1437
Nicolò	Lion	1438
Antonio	Loredan	1462
Gabriel	Loredan	1429
Giacomo	Loredan	1413
Andrea	Marcello	1413
Girolamo	Marcello	1465
Pietro	Marcello	1465
Carolo	Marino	1417
Maffeo	Michiel	1451
Nicolò	Michiel	1461
Pietro	Mocenigo	1424
Barbone	Morosini	1432
Giustiniani	Morosini	1465
Marcantonio	Morosini	1453
Paolo	Morosini	1424
Pietro	Morosini	1448
Ludovico	Da Mosto	1451
Giovanni Francesco	Pasqualigo	1463
Benedetto	Pesaro	1450
Maffeo	Pesaro	1433
Nicolò	Pesaro	1447
Giorgio	Pisani	1470
Luca	Pisani	1439
Paolo	Pisani	1472
Pietro	Priuli	1439
Francesco	Sanuto	1433
Leonardo	Sanuto	1444
Pietro	Soranzo	1456
Vettore	Soranzo	1428
Benedetto	Trevisan	1446
Domenico	Trevisan	1464
Paolo	Trevisan	1477
Zaccaria	Trevisan	1432
Francesco	Tron	1458
Pietro	Valier	1450
Andrea	Vendramin	1418

<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Venier</i>	<i>1426</i>
<i>Bartolomeo</i>	<i>Vettore</i>	<i>1453</i>
<i>Catarino</i>	<i>Zen</i>	<i>1439</i>

Figure B: Ambassadors also noted by Margaret King as humanists

FIRST NAME	SURNAME	NO. OF DIPLOMATIC POSTS HELD*
<i>Sebastiano</i>	<i>Badoer</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Zaccaria</i>	<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Paolo</i>	<i>Barbo</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>Bembo</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Candiano</i>	<i>Bollani</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Domenico</i>	<i>Bollani</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Contarini</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>Da Canal</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Marco</i>	<i>Dandolo</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Diedo</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Donato</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>Donato</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Marco</i>	<i>Donato</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Ludovico</i>	<i>Foscarini</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Domenico</i>	<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Vitale</i>	<i>Lando</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Pietro</i>	<i>Molin</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Barbone</i>	<i>Morosini</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Marcantonio</i>	<i>Morosini</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Paolo</i>	<i>Morosini</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Paolo</i>	<i>Pisani</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Leonardo</i>	<i>Sanuto</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Zaccaria</i>	<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>10</i>

Figure C: The total number of diplomatic offices held by Venetian ambassadors (518 in all)

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	NO. OF POSTS HELD*
<i>Da Canal</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Badoer</i>	<i>Sebastiano</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Foscarini</i>	<i>Ludovico</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Bembo</i>	<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Emo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Michiel</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Orsato</i>	<i>10</i>

<i>Pisani</i>	<i>Giorgio</i>	10
<i>Pisani</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	10
<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>	10
<i>Dandolo</i>	<i>Marco</i>	9
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>	8
<i>Gritti</i>	<i>Triadano</i>	8
<i>Malipiero</i>	<i>Pasquale</i>	8
<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	7
<i>Bollani</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	7
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	7
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	7
<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	7
<i>Diedo</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	6
<i>Lando</i>	<i>Vitale</i>	6
<i>Lion</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	6
<i>Mezzo</i>	<i>Giacomo da</i>	6
<i>Vendramin</i>	<i>Andrea</i>	6
<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	6
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	5
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Marco</i>	5
<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>Marco</i>	5
<i>Molin</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	5
<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Barbone</i>	5
<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Marcantonio</i>	5
<i>Pasqualigo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>	5
	<i>Francesco</i>	
<i>Venier</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	5
<i>Bollani</i>	<i>Candiano</i>	4
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Pandolfo</i>	4
<i>Corner</i>	<i>Marco</i>	4
<i>Correr</i>	<i>Fillipo</i>	4
<i>Diedo</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	4
<i>Foscarini</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	4
<i>Gabriel</i>	<i>Bertucio</i>	4
<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	4
<i>Loredan</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	4
<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	4
<i>Priuli</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	4
<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Matteo</i>	4
<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>Ermolao</i>	3
<i>Barbo</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	3
<i>Boldu</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	3
<i>Boldu</i>	<i>Leonardo</i>	3
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	3
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Vettori</i>	3
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	3
<i>Dandolo</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	3
<i>Gradenico</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	3
<i>Lion</i>	<i>Andrea</i>	3
<i>Loredan</i>	<i>Giacomo</i>	3
<i>Loredan</i>	<i>Ludovico</i>	3
<i>Marcello</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	3
<i>Pesaro</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	3
<i>Soranzo</i>	<i>Vettori</i>	3

Trevisan	Paolo	3
Viari	Leo	3
Barbarigo	Marco	2
Bassadona	Nicolò	2
Bragadin	Andrea	2
Cocco	Nicolò	2
Corner	Federico	2
Da Canal	Ludovico	2
Da Mosto	Ludovico	2
Emo	Giorgio	2
Ferro	Antonio	2
Giorgio	Girolamo	2
Lando	Ludovico	2
Marcello	Andrea	2
Marcello	Girolamo	2
Marino	Carolo	2
Mocenigo	Giovanni	2
Moro	Giovanni	2
Pisani	Luca	2
Priuli	Pietro	2
Sanuto	Pietro	2
Soranzo	Giovanni	2
Soranzo	Nicolò	2
Soranzo	Petro	2
Trevisan	Benedetto	2
Tron	Francesco	2
Tron	Nicolò	2
Zen	Catarino	2
Barbarigo	Agostino	1
Barbaro	Giosfat	1
Barbaro	Girolamo	1
Barbo	Paolo	1
Bernardo	Antonio	1
Bollani	Domenico	1
Bonzi	Marino	1
Bragadin	Ludovico	1
Capello	Andrea	1
Contarini	Ambrogio	1
Contarini	Antonio	1
Contarini	Bertucio	1
Contarini	Francesco	1
Contarini	Georgio	1
Contarini	Girolamo	1
Contarini	Maffeo	1
Dolfin	Paolo	1
Donato	Francesco	1
Donato	Ludovico	1
Duodo	Cristoforo	1
Foscari	Nicolò	1
Foscari	Urbano	1
Gradenico	Pasqualigo	1
Lion	Marino	1
Lion	Nicolò	1
Loredan	Gabriel	1

<i>Michiel</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Michiel</i>	<i>Maffeo</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Minio</i>	<i>Giovanni</i> <i>Antonio</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Mocenigo</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Moro</i>	<i>Cristoforo</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Moro</i>	<i>Domencio</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Giustinani</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Pasqualigo</i>	<i>Ettore</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Pesaro</i>	<i>Benedetto</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Pesaro</i>	<i>Maffeo</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Sanuto</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Sanuto</i>	<i>Leonardo</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Valier</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Vendramin</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Venier</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Bartolomeo</i>	<i>1</i>

Figure D : The number of diplomatic offices held by each individual in the core group between 1454 and 1494 (382 in all)

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	NO OF POSTS HELD**
<i>Badoer</i>	<i>Sebastiano</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Emo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Bembo</i>	<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Foscarini</i>	<i>Ludovico</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Bollani</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Da Canal</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Michiel</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Diedo</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Gritti</i>	<i>Triadano</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Mezzo</i>	<i>Giacomo da</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Pisani</i>	<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Vendramin</i>	<i>Andrea</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Lando</i>	<i>Vitale</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Molin</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Pasqualigo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i> <i>Francesco</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Pisani</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Correr</i>	<i>Fillipo</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Diedo</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Gabriel</i>	<i>Bertucio</i>	<i>4</i>

<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Marcantonio</i>	4
<i>Priuli</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	4
<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>Ermolao</i>	3
<i>Barbo</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	3
<i>Boldu</i>	<i>Leonardo</i>	3
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	3
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Vettori</i>	3
<i>Corner</i>	<i>Marco</i>	3
<i>Dandolo</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	3
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Marco</i>	3
<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	3
<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Orsato</i>	3
<i>Gradenico</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	3
<i>Lion</i>	<i>Andrea</i>	3
<i>Lion</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	3
<i>Loredan</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	3
<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	3
<i>Pesaro</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	3
<i>Soranzo</i>	<i>Vettori</i>	3
<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	3
<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>	3
<i>Venier</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	3
<i>Viari</i>	<i>Leo</i>	3
<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>Marco</i>	2
<i>Boldu</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	2
<i>Bollani</i>	<i>Candiano</i>	2
<i>Bragadin</i>	<i>Andrea</i>	2
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	2
<i>Cocco</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	2
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	2
<i>Corner</i>	<i>Federico</i>	2
<i>Da Canal</i>	<i>Ludovico</i>	2
<i>Ferro</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	2
<i>Foscarini</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	2
<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	2
<i>Lando</i>	<i>Ludovico</i>	2
<i>Loredan</i>	<i>Giacomo</i>	2
<i>Marcello</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	2
<i>Marino</i>	<i>Carolo</i>	2
<i>Pisani</i>	<i>Luca</i>	2
<i>Priuli</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	2
<i>Soranzo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>	2
<i>Soranzo</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	2
<i>Soranzo</i>	<i>Petro</i>	2
<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Benedetto</i>	2
<i>Tron</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	2
<i>Tron</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	2
<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Matteo</i>	2
<i>Zen</i>	<i>Catarino</i>	2
<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>Agostino</i>	1
<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>Giosfat</i>	1
<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	1
<i>Barbo</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	1
<i>Bassadona</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	1

Bernardo	Antonio	1
Bollani	Domenico	1
Bonzi	Marino	1
Bragadin	Ludovico	1
Capello	Andrea	1
Capello	Paolo	1
Contarini	Ambrogio	1
Contarini	Antonio	1
Contarini	Bertucio	1
Contarini	Francesco	1
Contarini	Georgio	1
Contarini	Girolamo	1
Contarini	Maffeo	1
Contarini	Pandolfo	1
Da Mosto	Ludovico	1
Dandolo	Marco	1
Dolfin	Paolo	1
Donato	Francesco	1
Donato	Ludovico	1
Duodo	Cristoforo	1
Emo	Giorgio	1
Foscari	Nicolò	1
Foscari	Urbano	1
Giorgio	Marco	1
Gradenico	Pasqualigo	1
Lion	Marino	1
Lion	Nicolò	1
Loredan	Gabriel	1
Loredan	Ludovico	1
Malipiero	Pasqualigo	1
Marcello	Andrea	1
Marcello	Pietro	1
Michiel	Francesco	1
Michiel	Maffeo	1
Minio	Giovanni	1
	Antonio	
Mocenigo	Giovanni	1
Mocenigo	Pietro	1
Moro	Cristoforo	1
Moro	Domencio	1
Moro	Giovanni	1
Morosini	Barbone	1
Morosini	Giustinani	1
Pasqualigo	Ettore	1
Pesaro	Benedetto	1
Pesaro	Maffeo	1
Sanuto	Francesco	1
Sanuto	Leonardo	1
Sanuto	Pietro	1
Valier	Pietro	1
Vendramin	Girolamo	1
Venier	Antonio	1
Vettori	Bartolomeo	1

Figure E: Men in the core group who also held posts on the terraferma (101 in all)

<i>Badoer</i>	<i>Sebastiano</i>	<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Orsato</i>
<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>Agostino</i>	<i>Gradenico</i>	<i>Domenico</i>
<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>Gritti</i>	<i>Triadano</i>
<i>Barbarigo</i>	<i>Marco</i>	<i>Lando</i>	<i>Ludovico</i>
<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>Giosfat</i>	<i>Lando</i>	<i>Vitale</i>
<i>Barbaro</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>	<i>Lion</i>	<i>Andrea</i>
<i>Barbo</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	<i>Lion</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>
<i>Barbo</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	<i>Lion</i>	<i>Marino</i>
<i>Bassadona</i>	<i>Nicolo</i>	<i>Lion</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>
<i>Bembo</i>	<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>Loredan</i>	<i>Antonio</i>
<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Loredan</i>	<i>Gabriel</i>
<i>Boldu</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Loredan</i>	<i>Giacomo</i>
<i>Boldu</i>	<i>Leonardo</i>	<i>Malipiero</i>	<i>Pasquale</i>
<i>Bollani</i>	<i>Candiano</i>	<i>Marcello</i>	<i>Andrea</i>
<i>Bollani</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	<i>Marcello</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>
<i>Bonzi</i>	<i>Marino</i>	<i>Marcello</i>	<i>Pietro</i>
<i>Bragadin</i>	<i>Andrea</i>	<i>Marino</i>	<i>Carolo</i>
<i>Bragadin</i>	<i>Ludovico</i>	<i>Mezzo</i>	<i>Giacomo da</i>
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Michiel</i>	<i>Francesco</i>
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Paolo</i>	<i>Michiel</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>
<i>Capello</i>	<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Mocenigo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>
<i>Cocco</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>Molin</i>	<i>Pietro</i>
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Ambrogio</i>	<i>Moro</i>	<i>Cristoforo</i>
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Bertucio</i>	<i>Moro</i>	<i>Domencio</i>
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Moro</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Barbone</i>
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Maffeo</i>	<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Giustiniani</i>
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Pandolfo</i>	<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Marcantonio</i>
<i>Contarini</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>	<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Paolo</i>
<i>Corner</i>	<i>Federico</i>	<i>Morosini</i>	<i>Pietro</i>
<i>Corner</i>	<i>Marco</i>	<i>Pasqualigo</i>	<i>Ettore</i>
<i>Correr</i>	<i>Philippo</i>	<i>Pasqualigo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>
<i>Da Canal</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>		<i>Francesco</i>
<i>Dandolo</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Pesaro</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>
<i>Dandolo</i>	<i>Marco</i>	<i>Pisani</i>	<i>Luca</i>
<i>Diedo</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Pisani</i>	<i>Paolo</i>
<i>Diedo</i>	<i>Pietro</i>	<i>Sanuto</i>	<i>Francesco</i>
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Sanuto</i>	<i>Leonardo</i>
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Girolamo</i>	<i>Soranzo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>
<i>Donato</i>	<i>Marco</i>	<i>Soranzo</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>
<i>Duodo</i>	<i>Cristoforo</i>	<i>Soranzo</i>	<i>Vettori</i>
<i>Emo</i>	<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Benedetto</i>
<i>Emo</i>	<i>Giovanni</i>	<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Domenico</i>
<i>Ferro</i>	<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Paolo</i>
<i>Foscari</i>	<i>Urbano</i>	<i>Trevisan</i>	<i>Zaccaria</i>
<i>Foscarini</i>	<i>Ludovico</i>	<i>Tron</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>
<i>Foscarini</i>	<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>Venier</i>	<i>Francesco</i>
<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>Domenico</i>	<i>Viari</i>	<i>Leo</i>
<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>Marco</i>	<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Antonio</i>
<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Bartolomeo</i>
<i>Giustiniani</i>	<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Vettori</i>	<i>Matteo</i>

Figure F: Total number of diplomatic posts held by ambassadors in each clan group

GROUP	NAME OF CLAN (with number of diplomatic posts held in brackets after name)	PERCENTAGE%*
Group A (20 posts or more)	Contarini (22), Donato (26), Giustiniani (28), Pisani (22), Trevisan (28), Morosini (29)	30
Group B (15-19 posts)	Barbaro (17), Capello (19), Da Canal (19), Foscarini (17)	14
Group C (10-14 posts)	Badoer (13), Barbarigo (10), Bembo (12), Bollani (12), Dandolo (12), Diedo (10), Emo (14), Giorgio (11), Lion (11), Loredan (11), Michiel (14), Vettori, (11)	27
Group D (5-9 posts)	Barbo (4), Boldu (6), Corner (6), Gritti (8), Lando (8), Malipiero (8), Marcello (7), Mezzo (6), Molin (5), Pasquale (6), Pesaro (5), Priuli (6), Soranzo (9), Vendramin (7), Venier (6)	19
Group E (4 posts or less)	Bassadona (2), Bernardo (1), Bonzi (1), Bragadin (3), Cocco (2), Correr (4), Da Mosto (2), Dolfen (1), Duodo (1), Ferro (2), Foscari (2), Gabriel (4), Gradenigo (4), Marino (2), Minio (1), Mocenigo (3), Moro (4), Sanuto (4), Tron (4), Valier (1), Viaro (3), Zen (2)	10

Figure G: Ambassadors in the core group who attained the title dottore (24 in all)

Ermolao	Barbaro	Marco	Dandolo	Ludovico	Loredan
Girolamo	Barbaro	Antonio	Dandolo	Nicolò	Michiel
Bernardo	Bembo	Francesco	Diedo	Pietro	Molin
Antonio	Bernardo	Girolamo	Donato	Barbone	Morosini
Antonio	Boldù	Marco	Donato	Giovanni	Pasqualigo
Domenico	Bollani	Ludovico	Foscarini	Francesco	
Francesco	Contarini	Nicolò	Foscarini	Giorgio	Pisani
Nicolò	Da Canal	Vitale	Lando	Zaccaria	Trevisan

Figure H: The birth dates and periods of diplomatic activity of Venetian ambassadors

Code:

A: date of first diplomatic post

B: date of end of last diplomatic post

C: date of birth (often approximate)

D: the number of years of diplomatic activity

E: approximate age on holding first diplomatic post

F: approximate age at end of last ambassadorial post

Note: were a dash is given, the information is not known

FIRST NAME	SURNAME	A	B	C	D	E	F
Sebastiano	Badoer	1457	1495	1427	38	30	68
Agostino	Barbarigo	1483	1483	1419	1	64	64
Girolamo	Barbarigo	1451	1467	1402	16	49	65
Marco	Barbarigo	1471	1475	1413	4	58	62
Ermolao	Barbaro	1486	1491	1453	5	33	38
Giosafat	Barbaro	1473	1479	1413	6	60	66
Girolamo	Barbaro	1479	1480	-	1	-	-

Zaccaria	Barbaro	1459	1485	1423	26	36	62
Paolo	Barbo di Andrea	1492	1492	1423	1	69	69
Paolo	Barbo di Nicolò	1454	1462	1416	8	38	46
Nicolò	Bassadona	1453	1464	1416	11	37	48
Bernardo	Bembo	1468	1505	1433	37	35	72
Antonio	Bernardo	1486	1487	1430	1	56	57
Antonio	Boldù	1489	1497	1450	8	39	47
Leonardo	Boldù	1455	1468	1420	13	35	48
Candiano	Bollani	1452	1475	1413	23	39	62
Domenico	Bollani di Candiano	1477	1490	1445	13	32	45
Domenico	Bollani di Francesco	1483	1483	1422	1	61	61
Marino	Bonzi	1482	1482	1424	1	58	58
Andrea	Bragadin	1472	1482	1424	10	48	58
Ludovico	Bragadin	1485	1485	1432	1	53	53
Andrea	Capello	1492	1493	1444	1	48	49
Francesco	Capello	1490	1512	1460	22	30	52
Paolo	Capello	1492	1510	1452	18	40	58
Victori	Capello	1454	1464	1400	10	54	64
Francesco	Capello di Albano	1448	1471	1418	23	30	53
Nicolo	Cocco	1470	1481	1402	11	68	79
Ambrogio	Contarini	1474	1477	1429	3	45	48
Antonio	Contarini	1477	1477	-	1	-	-
Bertucio	Contarini	1463	1463	-	1	-	-
Francesco	Contarini	1451	1460	1421	9	30	39
Giorgio	Contarini	1492	1492	1445	1	47	47
Girolamo	Contarini	1478	1478	1424	1	54	54
Maffeo	Contarini	1454	1454	1412	1	42	42
Pandolfo	Contarini	1452	1455	1413	3	39	42
Zaccaria	Contarini	1490	1508	1452	18	38	56
Francesco	Contarini di Paolo	1477	1477	1430	1	47	47
Federico	Corner	1472	1484	1415	12	57	69
Marco	Corner	1467	1471	1406	4	61	65
Philippo	Correr	1454	1470	1414	16	40	56
Ludovico	Da Canal	1465	1468	-	3	-	-
Nicolò	Da Canal	1442	1468	1415	26	27	53
Ludovico	Da Mosto	1474	1474	1432	1	42	42
Antonio	Dandolo	1467	1469	1431	2	36	38
Marco	Dandolo	1492	1531	1458	39	34	73
Francesco	Diedo	1464	1483	1435	19	29	48
Pietro	Diedo	1478	1490	1429	12	49	61
Paolo	Dolfin	1483	1483	-	1	-	-
Antonio	Donato	1469	1479	1422	10	47	57
Francesco	Donato	1476	1476	-	1	-	-
Girolamo	Donato	1483	1511	1456	28	27	55
Ludovico	Donato	1471	1471	1440	1	31	31
Marco	Donato	1451	1464	1415	13	36	49
Cristoforo	Duodo	1492	1492	1418	1	74	74

Giorgio	Emo	1483	1483	1450	1	33	33
Giovanni	Emo	1460	1478	1419	18	41	59
Antonio	Ferro	1486	1486	1435	1	51	51
Nicolò	Foscari	1489	1489	1447	1	42	42
Urbano	Foscari	1477	1477	1423	1	54	54
Ludovico	Foscarini	1445	1471	1409	26	36	62
Nicolò	Foscarini	1483	1505	1442	22	41	63
Bertucio	Gabriel	1474	1480	1423	6	51	57
Domenico	Giorgio	1471	1476	1407	5	64	69
Girolamo	Giorgio	1485	1485	-	1	-	-
Marco	Giorgio	1483	1500	-	17	-	-
Bernardo	Giustiniani	1458	1485	1408	27	50	77
Francesco	Giustiniani	1464	1474	1422	10	42	52
Orsato	Giustiniani	1436	1461	-	25	-	-
Domenico	Gradenigo	1469	1478	-	9	-	-
Pasquale	Gradenigo	1457	1457	1398	1	59	59
Triadano	Gritti	1451	1473	1390	22	61	83
Ludovico	Lando	1469	1480	1420	11	49	60
Vitale	Lando	1452	1475	1421	23	31	54
Andrea	Lion	1464	1473	-	9	-	-
Girolamo	Lion	1490	1500	1449	10	41	51
Marino	Lion	1492	1492	1419	1	73	73
Nicolò	Lion	1467	1467	1420	1	47	47
Antonio	Loredan	1480	1501	1444	21	36	57
Gabriel	Loredan	1483	1483	1411	1	72	72
Giacomo	Loredan	1450	1471	-	21	-	-
Ludovico	Loredan	1447	1454	1393	7	54	61
Pasquale	Malipiero	1447	1455	1392	8	55	63
Andrea	Marcello	1443	1454	-	11	-	-
Girolamo	Marcello	1479	1486	1447	7	32	39
Pietro	Marcello	1489	1499	1447	10	42	52
Carlo	Marino	1453	1456	1399	3	54	57
Giacomo	Mezzo	1470	1483	-	13	-	-
Francesco	Michiel	1477	1477	-	1	-	-
Maffeo	Michiel	1460	1461	1433	1	27	28
Nicolò	Michiel	1468	1505	1443	37	25	62
Giovanni	Minio	1470	1470	-	1	-	-
Antonio							
Giovanni	Mocenigo	1453	1477	1408	24	45	69
Pietro	Mocenigo	1464	1464	1406	1	58	58
Pietro	Molin	1464	1477	1430	13	34	47
Cristoforo	Moro	1453	1454	1390	1	63	64
Domenico	Moro	1469	1469	-	1	-	-
Giovanni	Moro	1451	1454	-	3	-	-
Barbone	Morosini	1446	1456	1414	10	32	42
Giustiniani	Morosini	1483	1483	1447	1	36	36
Marcantonio	Morosini	1474	1496	1435	22	39	61
Paolo	Morosini	1451	1476	1406	25	45	70
Pietro	Morosini	1451	1468	1430	17	21	38
Ettore	Pasqualigo	1464	1464	-	1	-	-
Giovanni	Pasqualigo	1477	1493	1445	16	32	48
francesco							
Benedetto	Pesaro	1483	1483	1432	1	51	51

Maffeo	Pesaro	1455	1455	1415	1	40	40
Nicolò	Pesaro	1462	1477	1429	15	33	48
Giorgio	Pisani	1484	1509	1452	25	32	57
Luca	Pisani	1465	1483	1421	18	44	62
Paolo	Pisani	1484	1510	1454	26	30	56
Antonio	Priuli	1463	1483	-	20	-	-
Pietro	Priuli	1472	1483	1421	11	51	62
Francesco	Sanuto	1468	1468	1415	1	53	53
Leonardo	Sanuto	1474	1474	1426	1	48	48
Petro	Sanuto	1490	1499	-	9	-	-
Giovanni	Soranzo	1454	1467	-	13	-	-
Nicolò	Soranzo	1464	1473	-	9	-	-
Pietro	Soranzo	1484	1485	1438	1	46	47
Victori	Soranzo	1471	1477	1410	6	61	67
Benedetto	Trevisan	1492	1494	1428	2	64	66
Domenico	Trevisan	1483	1512	1446	29	37	66
Paolo	Trevisan	1489	1494	1459	5	30	35
Zaccaria	Trevisan	1445	1465	1414	20	31	51
Francesco	Tron	1480	1483	1440	3	40	43
Nicolò	Tron	1458	1471	1399	13	59	72
Pietro	Valerio	1468	1468	1432	1	36	36
Andrea	Vendramin	1467	1473	1393	6	74	80
Girolamo	Vendramin	1465	1465	-	1	-	-
Antonio	Venier	1454	1454	-	1	-	-
Francesco	Venier	1446	1472	1408	26	38	64
Antonio	Vettori	1477	1485	-	8	-	-
Bartolomeo	Vettori	1483	1483	1435	1	48	48
Matteo	Vettori	1448	1459	-	11	-	-
Leo	Viari	1458	1459	-	1	-	-
Caterino	Zeno	1471	1474	1421	3	50	53

* the total number of diplomatic posts held including those before 1454 and after 1494 (518 in all)

** the total number of diplomatic posts held between and including the years 1454 and 1494 (382 in all)

APPENDIX 4

INDEX OF A VENETIAN DISPATCH

Dispacci alla Signoria di Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan 1494-95 (Marciana, It VII Cod. 398 [8170])*Note:*

The author of these letters are Sebastiano Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan until 4 Jan. 1495, and thereafter Sebastiano Badoer unless otherwise noted. The recipient of letters is the state of Venice unless otherwise noted. All dates given are in the modern form and the hour has been given in the form it appears on original dispatch. Any queries are noted with a question mark.

PAGE NO.	DATE	HOUR	SENT FROM	NOTES
1r	22/11/94	23	Padua	
1r	22/11/94	23	Padua	
1r-v	24/11/94	19	Vicenza	
1v-2r	26/11/94	16	Verona	
2r	28/11/94	XVI	Brescia	
2r-v	1/12/94	prima noctis	Milan	met with Giorgio Pisani (amb. in Milan)
2v-3r	2/12/94	II noctis	Milan	signed by Benedetto Trevisan, Sebastiano Badoer and Giorgio Pisani (signed 'S.B., B.T., G.P.')
3v	2/12/94	III noctis	Milan	signed by Benedetto Trevisan, Sebastiano Badoer and Giorgio Pisani
4r-7r	3/12/94		Milan	signed by Benedetto Trevisan, Sebastiano Badoer and Giorgio Pisani
7v-8v	4/12/94	II noctis	Milan	signed by Benedetto Trevisan, Sebastiano Badoer and Giorgio Pisani
9r-9v	5/12/94		Milan	signed by Benedetto Trevisan, Sebastiano Badoer and Giorgio Pisani; with postscript
9v-10v	6/12/94	prima noctis	Milan	signed by Benedetto Trevisan, Sebastiano Badoer and Giorgio Pisani
11r-v	7/12/94	prima noctis	Milan	signed by Benedetto Trevisan, Sebastiano Badoer and Giorgio Pisani
12r	8/12/94		Milan	Reports the departure of Giorgio Pisani; with postscript
12v	10/12/94		Milan	
12v-14r	12/10/94	II noctis	Milan	
14v-15r	15/12/94	prima noctis	Vigevano	letter is headed 'Ltre Giorgio Nigro secretary ex vicleimo ad Mag. Oratores Mli'
15r-17r	15/12/94	sixta? noctis	Milan	Explain that they have sent their secretary to Vigevano and enclose a copy of letter from him (see letter above)
17v-18r	17/12/94	II noctis	Milan	
18r-19v	18/12/94	prima noctis	Milan	
20r-23r	21/12/94	4 noctis	Milan	
23r-v	22/12/94	II noctis	Milan	
24r	22/12/94		Milan	from Sebastiano Badoer
24r-25r	23/12/94	II noctis	Milan	
25v	24/12/94		Milan	from Sebastiano Badoer; reports the

				death of Benedetto Trevisan; note that all following letters are from Sebastiano Badoer
26r-27r	25/12/94	prima noctis	Milan	
27r-29v	27/12/94	III noctis	Milan	
29v-30v	29/12/94	II noctis	Milan	
30v-32r	31/12/94	tertia noctis	Milan	
32v-33r	1/1/95		Milan	
33r-34v	2/1/95	II noctis	Milan	
35r-36v	3/1/95	3 noctis	Milan	
37r-38r	7/1/95	4 noctis	Milan	with postscript
38v-39v	8/1/95	III noctis	Milan	
40r-41v	9/1/95	3 noctis	Milan	
42r-v	11/1/95	secundi noctis	Milan	
43r	11/1/95		Milan	letter is addressed to 'Mag. & Excellente Dm, and ends 'Ex Dominis capitibus III. Consilii X'
43v-45r	12/1/95	tertia noctis	Milan	
45r-46r	14/1/95	prima noctis	Milan	
46r-47r	15/1/95		Milan	
47r-49v	18/1/95	3 noctis	Milan	
49v-51v	19/1/95	tertia noctis	Milan	
51v-53r	22/1/95	prima noctis	Milan	
53r-v	24/1/95	II noctis	Milan	
53v-54r	25/1/95	prima noctis	Milan	
54r-55r	28/1/95	prima noctis	Milan	
55r-56r	30/1/95		Milan	with postscript
56r-57r	2/2/95	24	Milan	
57r-59r	3/2/95	XXII	Milan	
59v	4/2/95		Milan	
60r-61r	5/2/95	24	Milan	
61r-62v	6/2/95	II noctis	Milan	
63r	8/2/95		Milan	
63v-65v	10/2/95	3 noctis	Milan	
66r-68r	12/2/95	tertia noctis	Milan	with postscript
68r-70r	15/2/95	tertia noctis	Milan	
70v-72r	18/2/95	XXIII	Milan	
72r-73v	20/2/95		Milan	
73v-75v	21/2/95	secunda noctis	Milan	
75v-76v	22/2/95	XXII	Milan	
77r-79r	24/2/95		Milan	
79r-82r	26/2/95	tertia noctis	Milan	
82r-84r	27/2/95	prima noctis	Milan	
84v-86r	1/3/95	II noctis	Milan	
86r-87r	5/3/95	II noctis	Milan	
87r-88v	6/3/95	prima noctis	Milan	
88v	7/3/95	XXIII	Milan	
89r-90v	9/3/95		Milan	
90v-93r	10/3/95	XX	Milan	
93v-94r	11/3/95	XXII	Milan	
94r-95r	12/3/95	XX	Milan	
95r-v	14/3/95	XXII	Milan	
96r-98r	15/3/95	XX	Milan	with postscript

98r-99v	15/3/95	II noctis	Milan	
99v	18/3/95	XXI	Milan	
100r	18/3/95	XXIII	Milan	appears to be addition to previous letter
100r	19/3/95	XII	Milan	headed 'Mag. et Clarissim Domini Rectoris Creme Brixia Verona, Vicentie, Padue'
100v-101r	19/3/95	XXIII	Milan	
101r	20/3/95		Milan	appears to be addressed to Ludovico Sforza
101v	20/3/95	XVIII	Milan	
102r	21/3/95	XIII	Milan	
102r-v	22/3/95		Milan	
103r	23/3/95		Milan	
103v	24/3/95	XV	Milan	with postscript
103v-104r	25/3/95		Milan	
104r	26/3/95	XIII	Milan	
104v-105r	27/3/95	19	Milan	
105r	27/3/95	III noctis	Milan	
105v-106r	28/3/95	19	Milan	
106v-107r	30/3/95	XV	Milan	
107r-v	1/4/95		Milan	
107v-108r	1/4/95	XXIII	Milan	
108r	1/4/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
108r-v	2/4/95	VI noctis	Milan	with postscript
108v-109v	3/4/95	VIII noctis	Milan	
109v-110r	4/4/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
110r-v	5/4/95	III noctis		
111r-v	7/4/95		Milan	hour is noted as 'supdicta'
111v	7/4/95	XIII	Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
111v-112r	8/4/95	XVII	Milan	
112r-v	9/4/95		Milan	hour is illegible
112v	9/4/95	XVII	Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
113r	10/4/95	XVII	Milan	hour is noted as 'supradcta'
113v	10/4/95		Milan	note that two consecutive pages have been numbered 113
113v	10/4/95		Milan	hour is illegible
113v-113v	11/4/95	XV	Milan	
113v-114v	11/4/95	XXIII	Milan	
115r-116r	12/4/95	XVIII	Milan	
116r-v	13/4/95	XX	Milan	
116v	14/4/95	XII	Milan	
117r-v	14/4/95		Milan	
117v	14/4/95	XXIII	Milan	
118r	15/4/95		Milan	hour is noted as 'supradicta'
118v	15/4/95		Milan	hour is noted as 'predicta'
118v-119r	16/4/95		Milan	hour is noted as 'predicta'
119v	17/4/95		Milan	hour is noted as 'pdicta'
119v-120r	17/4/95		Milan	hour is noted as 'pdicta'
120r	18/4/95	XIII	Milan	
120r-120v?	19/4/95	XIII	Milan	with postscript

120v-121r?	19/4/95	X	Milan	with postscript
121r	20/4/95	XII	Milan	
121v	20/4/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
121v-122v	20/4/95		Milan	with postscript
122v-123r	21/4/95	XXIII	Milan	
123r-v	22/4/95	VIII	Milan	
123v-124r	22/4/95	9	Milan	letter to Giorgio Negro?
124r-v	13/4/95	13	Milan	
124v	23/4/95	X	Milan	
124v	23/4/95	XII		appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
125r	24/4/95	14	Milan	
125r	24/4/95	XIII		appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
125v	24/4/95	VIII	Milan	
125v-126r	25/4/95	XV	Milan	
126r	25/4/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
126v-127r	26/4/95	XV	Milan	
127r-v	26/4/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
127v	26/4/95	VIII	Milan	
128r-v	27/4/95	X	Milan	
128v-129r	27/4/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
129r-131r	29/4/95	15	Milan	
131r	29/4/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
131v	29/4/95	XV	Milan	
131v-133v	30/4/95	XXIII		
133v	1/5/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
134r-135r	2/5/95	VIII	Milan	
135r	2/5/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
135v-136v	2/5/95	XX	Milan	with long postscript
136v	3/5/95		Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
137r	3/5/95		Milan	Not clear who letter is to; might be 'domini capitis X'
137r-138r	4/5/95	VIII	Milan	
138r	4/5/95	VIII	Milan	appears to be letter to Ludovico Sforza
138r-139r	4/5/95		Milan	
139r-v	4/5/95		Milan	with postscript
139v-140r	5/5/95	XI	Milan	
140v-142r	5/5/95		Milan	with a postscript dated 6 May
142r-v	6/5/95	XXII	Milan	with postscript
143r	7/5/95		Milan	
143r-145r	7/5/95		Milan	
145v-147v	7/5/95		Milan	
147v-148v	8/5/95		Milan	
148v-150r	9/5/95	prima noctis	Milan	
150v-152r	10/5/95	prima noctis	Milan	

152r-154v	11/5/95		Milan	
154v-155r	12/5/95		Milan	
155v	12/5/95		Milan	letter to Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello, Marino Giorgio
155v-156r	12/5/95		Milan	
156r-v	12/5/95		Milan	
156v-158r	14/5/95		Milan	
158r-v	14/5/95		Milan	
158v-160v	15/5/95		Milan	
160v-162v	16/5/95		Milan	
162v-164v	17/5/95		Milan	
164v-167r	18/5/95		Milan	
167r-167v	19/5/95		Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello, and Marino Giorgio
168r-170v	19/5/95	prima noctis	Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
171r-175r	20/5/95		Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
175r-176r	21/5/95	prima noctis	Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
176r	23/5/95		Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
176v-177v	12/5/95		Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
178r-180r	23/5/95	prima noctis	Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
180r-v	24/5/95	XI	Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
180v-181r	25/5/95		Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
181r-182v	26/5/95		Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
182v-184r	26/5/95	prima noctis	Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
184v-187r	27/5/95		Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
187r	27/5/95	XVIII	Milan	from 'tres oratoris'
187r-v	27/5/95	19	Milan	from 'tres oratoris'; not clear to whom letter is sent
187v	28/5/95		Milan	letter to Girolamo Lion from 'tres oratoris'
187v	28/5/95		Milan	letter to Girolamo Lion from 'tres oratoris'
188r-189v	28/5/95	24	Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer,

				Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio, 'quattor oratores'
189v-190r	28/5/95		Milan	from 'tres oratoris'
190r-v	29/5/95	XVI	Milan	from 'tres oratoris' to Girolamo Lion
190v	29/5/95		Milan	from 'tres oratoris'
191r-193r	29/5/95	prima noctis	Milan	
193r	30/5/95		Milan	from 'tres oratoris'
193v-194v	30/5/95	II noctis	Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio
195r	31/5/95	X	Milan	letter from Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Lion, Francesco Capello and Marino Giorgio; with postscript
195r-196v	31/5/95		Milan	
196v-197r	1/6/95		Milan	
197r-198r	2/6/95		Milan	
198r-200v	1/6/95		Milan	
201r-202v	2/6/95		Milan	
203r-204r	3/6/95	24	Milan	
204r-206r	4/6/95		Milan	

APPENDIX 5

VENETIAN DIPLOMATIC SECRETARIES 1454-94

Notes: Full names of secretaries are given, surname first. Life dates are given in brackets if known, followed by name of the individual's father. Those entries which are starred () appear in the profiles at the back of Mary Neff's unpublished PhD thesis.¹ If there is an entry to the secretary in King or DBI, this is shown in brackets after patronymic. If there is no entry to the secretary in any of these sources, then a manuscript reference is given, as well as the details of the offices held by the secretary. Information about those secretaries who performed significant diplomatic service is given in more detail (see Domenico Bellono, Marco Bevazan, Giovanni Borghi, Giovanni Dario, Zaccaria de'Freschi, Giovanni Pietro Stella, Antonio Vinciguerra).*

Aleotti, Ulisse (c 1412-1468) son of Graziadeo * (*King*)

Ambrosiis, Bernardino de' (d 1506) son of Giovanni*

Aurelio, Francesco, son of Pietro*

Aurelio, Marco (c 1430-after 1478) son of Nicolò* (*King*)

Aurelio, Paolo, son of Nicolò*

*Bellono, Domenico**

d before 1485

son of Jacopo

Service abroad

shared secretarial duties with Clemente Tealdin at conference of Venetian, Florentine, Papal and Aragonese ambassadors 1454; sec in Ancona 1458; sec in Milan 1466; envoy to the Duke of Austria 1484

*Bevazan, Marco** (*DBI*)

mid 15C- 1503

¹ M.Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Society, 1480-1533* (PhD thesis, UCLA 1985)

son of Ludovico

Service abroad

sec to **Girolamo Donato**, amb to King of Portugal 1486; sec to prov in campo Pietro Duodo and Girolamo Marcello 1487; envoy to Spain 1488; envoy to Stefano and Giorgio Cemovich 1491; sec to **Andrea Capello**, amb to Pope 1492; sec to amb in Rome 1493; sec to prov in army 1497; resident of Genoa 1497; sec to Admiral Antonio Grimani 1499; sec to Girolamo Giorgio, amb in Milan 1500; mission to Austria 1500; sec of Ludovico Malipiero, prov in Udine 1501; resident in Brundisi 1502; resident in Milan 1503

Bianco, Pietro (d before 1492) son of Leonardo*

Bon, Bartolomeo (d before 1493)*

Bontempo, Stefano (d 1479) son of Bartolomeo*

Borghi, Giovanni * (DBI)

mid 15C-1498

son of Pietro

Service abroad

sec to **Antonio Donato**, amb in Constantinople 1475; sec to amb in Rome 1476; part of delegation to conclude alliance with France with **Domenico Gradenico** 1477-78; in Ravenna 1479; envoy to Spain 1484-85; envoy to Austria 1487; envoy to Duke of Savoy 1488; sec to amb in Cairo, **Pietro Diedo** 1489, stayed on as amb there after Diedo's death; envoy to Cairo 1492; envoy to Veglia 1493; envoy to Apulia 1494; envoy to Romagna 1495

*Brachis, Ludovico de'**

Brandis, Bartolomeo de' (d 1502) son of Gasparo*

Caballino, Alberto (SS vol. 28, f. 142r)

envoy to Germany 1482

Capello, Febo (c 1420-1482) son of Alessandro* (*King*)

Cepolla, Bartolomeo (*SS vol. 25, f. 36v*)

sec to the Diet of Ratisbon 1471

Dario, Francesco (d before 1548) son of Giorgio Panteleo*

Dario, Giovanni*

1414-94

Service abroad

sec to **Nicolò Da Canal**, amb to Constantinople 1451; sec to **Nicolò Cocco**, amb to Constantinople 1470; in Rimini 1470; envoy to Constantinople 1473; sec to **Girolamo Giorgio**, amb to Constantinople 1475; envoy to the Sultan of Cairo 1477; sec to Tomaso Malipiero, amb in Constantinople 1479; envoy to Constantinople 1480; envoy to Constantinople 1484; in Persia 1485

De la Bancha, Alberto (*SS vol. 28, f. 131v, 144r*)

nuncio to 'Lucernam' 1478

Diedo, Giovanni (d 1510)*

Diedo, Girolamo (c 1471-before 1529)*

Eustochio, Lorenzo (d before 1488)*

Federici, Giorgio (d before 1495)*

Franceschi, Andrea di (b 1473) son of Pietro*

Franco, Giorgio, son of Luca*

Freschi, Tomaso de' (1453-1534) son of Giovanni Davide*

Freschi, Zaccaria de' * (see also M. Neff, 'A citizen in the service of the patrician state: the career of Zaccaria de' Freschi', *Studi Veneziani n.s. vol. 5*, 1981)

1456-1510

son of Giovanni Davide

Service abroad

sec to **Ludovico Lando** and **Antonio Vettori** in the Levant 1473; sec to Lorenzo Loredan, prov in Brescia 1477; sec to **Girolamo Contarini**, amb to the Duke of Austria 1478; sec to Marco Pesaro and **Ludovico Lando**, amb in Friuli 1478;² envoy to Florence 1479; two missions to Constantinople with **Nicolò Cocco** and **Antonio Vettori** 1480; envoy to Rimini 1482; sec to **Antonio Vettori**, amb in Brescia 1482; sec to **Luca Pisani** and **Nicolò Pesaro**, prov in war of Ferrara before 1484; envoy to Ferrara 1499; envoy to Constantinople 1502-03; envoy to E. Mediterranean 1503-04.

Girardo, Emmanuele (d 1495) son of Cristoforo*

Giudecca, Francesco della (d 1513) son of Nicolò*

Gonella, Giovanni (fl 1420-1467)*

Grandimben, Nicolò (d before 1490) son of Melchiorre*

Grassis, Michele de' (d before 1464) son of Bartolomeo*

Grassis, Nicolò de (fl 1440-77)*

Guidotto, Vincenzo, son of Cristoforo*

Languschi, Jacopo (late 14C- after 1465) son of Giovanni da Pavia (*King*)

Lorenzi, Giovanni (c.1440-before 1501) son of Francesco (*King*)

Manenti, Ludovico (d c 1486) son of Jacopo*

² I have not found any reference to this post as ambassadorial, but have noted Lando as *provveditore* in Friuli (see his profile in appendix 1).

Negro, Bertucio (d 1459) son of Biagio*

Negro, Giorgio (d before 1504)*

Negro, Maffeo (d c 1460)*

Ottobon, Nicolò (d 1525) son of Stefano*

Pellestrina, Benedetto (c 1471-1522) son of Nicolò*

*Piazzo, Bartolomeo della**

Piero, Ludovico de' (1467-1523)*

*Racanetis, Pietro de**

Sagundino, Ludovico (c 1443-1506) son of Nicolò*

Sagundino, Nicolò (c 1400-1464)*

Santi, Marco di (d 1499) son of Giovanni*

Stella, Domenico (d before 1479) son of Giovanni*

*Stella, Giovanni Pietro**

d 1523

son of Domenico

Service abroad

envoy to Milan 1485; envoy to France 1488-89; sec to **Paolo Pisani**, amb to Pope 1494; sec to Francesco Foscari, at conference of Vigevano 1490 (?); amb to Imperial Court 1496-97; sec to **Paolo Pisani**, amb to Savoy 1497; envoy to France 1498; sec to **Paolo Capello**, amb to Rome 1499; sec to **Girolamo Donato**, amb to Rome 1501; envoy to Urbino 1503; sec to **Girolamo Donato**, amb to the Pope 1505; sec to prov gen 1508; envoy to the Swiss 1512

Stella, Ludovico, son of Giorgio*

Stella, Nicolò (d 1515) son of Giorgio*

*Tarallo, Pietro**

Tealdin, Clemente (d 1495) son of Davide*

*Theotino, Bernardo**

Tomasi, Pietro (d before 1488)*

*Trevisan, Francesco**

Trevisan, Giovanni Battista (fl 1458-66) son of Gasparo*

Trevisan, Giovanni Battista (fl 1470-85) son of Giovanni*

Vedova, Gasparo della (d 1524) son of Francesco the Barber*

*Vinciguerra, Antonio** (*King, DBI, Beffa, Antonio Vinciguerra*)

c 1440-1502

son of Francesco

Service abroad

sec to **Bernardo Bembo**, amb in Castile 1468-69; sec to **Andrea Vendramin** and **Ludovico Foscari**, amb in Rome 1470-71; envoy to Ferrara 1474; in Florence 1475; envoy to Milan 1477; envoy to Florence 1478; envoy to Hungary 1478; envoy to Veglia 1480-81; envoy to Milan 1482; envoy to Duke of Lorraine 1483; envoy to Roberto Sanseverino 1485; envoy to Rome 1486-87; sec to **Sebastiano Badoer** and **Bernardo Bembo**, ambs to Pope 1487; in Rome 1488; envoy in Veglia 1488; envoy to Mantua 1490; in Crema 1491-94; envoy to Bologna 1495

Zenaro, Francesco (d before 1502)*

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Note that manuscripts indicated with an asterix were consulted only on microfilm in the 'Ilardi Microfilm Collection of Renaissance Diplomatic, ca 1450-ca 1500', Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven- the documents which were consulted here are not noted separately in this bibliography. Note also that the numbering of ASMi, Sforzesco, Venezia in the Ilardi Collection differs slightly from my numbering (taken from ASMi).

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